

# THE PROCEEDINGS *of* THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

1939

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THE PROCEEDINGS  
*of*  
THE SOUTH CAROLINA  
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION  
1939

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ROBERT L. MERIWETHER  
*and*  
ARNEY R. CHILDS  
*Editors*

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COLUMBIA  
THE SOUTH CAROLINA  
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1939

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## THE NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

The South Carolina Historical Association held its ninth annual meeting in Columbia, April 15, 1939. All of the sessions were held in the Crystal Room of the Columbia Hotel. The President, Professor James W. Patton, presided over the meetings, which were well attended by the members.

At the morning session, which opened at eleven o'clock, two papers dealing with South Carolina history were given. Professor R. H. Woody read a paper entitled "Christopher Gadsden and the Stamp Act", and Mr. J. M. Lesesne gave one entitled "The Nullification Controversy in an Up-Country District". Both papers evoked lively discussions. Professor R. L. Meriwether led the discussion of Professor Woody's paper and Professor A. G. Holmes was the leader of the discussion following Mr. Lesesne's paper. Interesting comments on the topics were made also by several members. Miss Catherine de Treville gave much interesting information about B. F. Perry, a leader in the nullification controversy.

The afternoon session was held at three o'clock. At this time Professor Charles N. Sisson read a paper entitled "The Constitutional Organization and Mobilization of the National Guards of the French Revolution", after which Professor M. W. Brown gave a very interesting discussion.

Also at this session the annual business meeting was held. The report of the Executive Committee, given by Mr. J. M. Lesesne, and that of the Secretary-Treasurer were accepted by the Association. The President was authorized to re-appoint for another year the committee assisting the Writers Project. The following officers were chosen for the coming year: President, Professor C. E. Cauthen; Vice-President, Mrs. Richard Williams; Secretary-Treasurer, Miss Fannie Belle White; Executive Committee Member, Professor O. C. Skipper.

Forty-six members and guests were served at the dinner session, held at seven-thirty o'clock. At this time Professor R. H. Taylor discussed, "The Mud-Sill Theory in South Carolina", after which the meeting was adjourned.

F. B. W.



## CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN AND THE STAMP ACT

ROBERT H. WOODY

*Duke University*

Grenville's proposed stamp tax on America did not go unchallenged in South Carolina. A letter to Charles Garth, the colonial agent, found among the papers of Christopher Gadsden, made it clear that a committee of the House, of which Gadsden was a member, thought Garth's letter on the subject "so alarming and important that they prayed the special direction of the House", which could not be given before Lieutenant-Governor Bull prorogued the House. The committee, however, proceeded to give "the principal reason" against the measure as "its inconsistency with that inherent right of every British subject, not to be taxed but by his own consent. . . ." Other objections included the difficulty with which the existing provincial taxes were paid, they being greater, "in proportion to the value of our estates . . . than the land tax raised in Great Britain"; the fact that "almost all" the goods exported were on the enumerated list; the danger from Indian attacks; a tender regard for the people of the back country; the sickliness of the climate; the expensive way of living in the province; and the necessity of keeping up the spirits of the people. All alike made it hard to believe that Parliament, "instead of alleviating, parent-like, the many hardships and difficulties . . . will endeavor still to augment them, and that to a degree so as to reduce us almost to despair. . . ." <sup>1</sup>

There can be little doubt that Gadsden was a prime mover among those who urged the assembly to heed the call of Massachusetts for a general congress. Captain Gadsden, for the committee appointed to consider the proposal, recommended that South Carolina appoint a committee to meet with the others in New York in October.<sup>2</sup> At the age of forty-one, Gadsden had had an active and varied career. His brief service in the navy and his more active military career demonstrated a martial spirit; his controversy with Grant and Laurens in regard to the Cherokee war bespoke a man of courage; the Boone controversy, in which Gadsden was a central figure, suggested a certain stubbornness and impetuosity. Ramsay, who was well acquainted

<sup>1</sup> The letter is dated Sept. 4, 1764, and is printed in R. W. Gibbes, *Documentary History of the American Revolution, 1764-1776* (New York, 1855), pp. 1-6. Gadsden was a member of the committee along with ten others, including Lynch, Lowndes, and John Rutledge. The author regrets that the limitation of space prevents a more extended discussion of this and many other aspects of the Stamp Act in South Carolina.

<sup>2</sup> Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina, MS (Historical Commission, Columbia), July 26, 1765, XXXVII, 94. Hereinafter cited HJ.



with him, stated that he had "a strong love for independence", was "a born republican", and "could not brook the encroachments of any man or body of men intrenching on his rights."<sup>3</sup> Many years later Gadsden wrote William Henry Drayton that "No man in America strove more (and more successfully) first to bring about a Congress in 1765, and then to support it afterwards than myself."<sup>4</sup>

On August 8 a committee consisting of Gadsden, Thomas Lynch, and John Rutledge was appointed to attend the Stamp Act Congress,<sup>5</sup> and upon learning of their arrival at New York on September 15 Captain Gadsden's Artillery Company "fired 3 vollies of small arms, upon the joyful news. . . ."<sup>6</sup>

To state "the rights and grievances of the colonists", and to prepare petitions to the King, the Lords, and the Commons, at this critical time, without claiming too little or too much, and in a period of two weeks, required able men. Two of South Carolina's delegates, Lynch and Rutledge, were chosen to head the committees drafting the addresses to the Lords and the Commons. Gadsden was ready to deny the sovereignty of Parliament, as colonial rights were held only from the King, but he was willing to acquiesce in the power of Parliament to regulate trade.<sup>7</sup> Since South Carolina had no charter, Gadsden did not wish to see too much dependence placed on their protective power. "I have ever been of opinion", he said, "that we should all endeavor to stand upon the broad and common ground of those natural and inherent rights that we all feel and know, as men and as descendants of Englishmen", and he had "always thought this bottom amply sufficient for our future importance." The charters, being different in different colonies, were in danger of being "the political trap that will ensnare us at last by drawing different colonies upon that account to act differently in this great and common cause, and whenever that is the case, all will be over with the whole."<sup>8</sup> To Gadsden's mind the union of the colonies was essential, for "That province that endeavors to act separately will certainly gain nothing by it", he wrote to Garth. "There ought to be no New England men, no New Yorker, etc., known on the Continent, but all of us Americans."<sup>9</sup>

Gadsden returned to Charleston on November 13, 1765, to find that the city had been the scene of a degree of excitement and turmoil the

<sup>3</sup> David Ramsay, *History of South Carolina* (2 vols. in one, Newberry, 1858), II, 253.

<sup>4</sup> *Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society* (Charleston, 1887), IV, 60.

<sup>5</sup> HJ, XXXVII, 97-98.

<sup>6</sup> *South Carolina Gazette*, Sept. 28-Oct. 5, 1765.

<sup>7</sup> Gadsden to Garth, Dec. 2, 1765, in Gibbs, *Doc. Hist.*, 1764-1776, pp. 8-9.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*



like of which had not been seen since the revolution of 1719. Despite the fact of Gadsden's absence, there is reason to think that the Sons of Liberty, who were responsible for most of the disturbance, were under his guidance; at least no one else can be called the prime mover of the enterprise. When the Sons of Liberty were first organized, and by whom, is an unanswered question, but Gadsden's Artillery Company would have been a splendid nucleus for such an organization.

The Stamp Act was to go into effect November 1, and on October 19, the day after the arrival of the stamps, William Bull took the oath to enforce it, as a member of his Council "Observed that . . . there . . . [was] some appearance of disturbance being Committed by giddy minded and evil disposed persons in consequence of the Arrival of the Stamps."<sup>10</sup> That these "giddy minded" persons were not to be taken lightly was soon evident, for the distributor of the stamps was hanged in effigy in the center of town, and in the evening a large procession demanded that the residence of George Saxby, the supposed distributor of the stamps, be opened for a searching party; later the effigies were committed to the flames, and a coffin inscribed "American Liberty" was decently buried.<sup>11</sup> These proceedings brought an ironical comment from Henry Laurens who "saw not the farce" but was convinced by "some sensible men" that "Six Men of Spirit could have in the beginning have crushed the whole shew." But "meeting with no opposition they carried their point . . . & those Sons of Liberty as they stile themselves or as others call them Devil Burners, did not close the play in Defence of Liberty before they had most shamelessly given the Lie to their pretended Patriotism" and had "committed unbounded acts of Licentiousness & at length Burglary & Robbery. . . ." <sup>12</sup>

But it was not sufficient for Laurens to confine his thoughts to private letters, for on the evening of October 23 the mob appeared at his house and demanded the privilege of searching it for stamps. This he was able to prevent, but one of the crowd, taking hold of his shoulders, "said they loved me and everybody would love me if I did not hold way with one Govr. Grant. This provoked me not a little as it exhibited to me the cloven foot of a certain malicious villain acting behind the curtain." The reference to Grant, around whom centered the first Laurens-Gadsden quarrel, left no doubt in Laurens'

<sup>10</sup> Council Journal, MS (Historical Commission, Columbia), 1765-66, p. 628.

<sup>11</sup> For a rather full account of the proceedings see *S. C. Gazette*, Oct. 19-31, 1765. Extracts from the *Gazette* have been printed in the *Charleston Year Book*, 1885, pp. 331-37. Edward McCrady, *History of South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1719-1776* (New York, 1899) follows the *Gazette* closely. Cf. D. D. Wallace, *History of South Carolina* (4 vols. New York, 1934), II, ch. XLIV.

<sup>12</sup> Laurens to Joseph Brown, Oct. 22, 1765, Laurens' Letter Book, 1762-66, pp. 339-340. This is in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



mind that Gadsden was the man who "could be reached only by suspicion." Laurens' longstanding enmity with Gadsden, linked with the circumstantial evidence, gives much reason to think that Laurens was correct in this suspicion.<sup>13</sup> After making Chief Justice Skinner drink "Damnation to the Stamp Act" <sup>14</sup> the crowd went home; by the first of the week the stamp inspector, Saxby, and the stamp distributor, Caleb Lloyd, had given a "voluntary" declaration that they would suspend the duties of their office.

When the assembly convened on November 26, Gadsden presented a report of the proceedings of the Congress which were approved unanimously (with the exception of William Wragg), and the next day, as Gadsden was pleased to tell Garth, "the House did us the honor to give us their thanks . . . in the most ample and obliging manner."<sup>15</sup> On the twenty-ninth Gadsden was named chairman of a committee "to draw up such particular Resolutions on the present occasion as were thought necessary" respecting the several acts of Parliament. The committee, in practically the same terms as the addresses of Congress, stated "their most essential rights and liberties", and they were ordered to be made public.<sup>16</sup>

On December 16 the committee of correspondence, to which Gadsden had been added on the first day of the assembly,<sup>17</sup> addressed a long letter to Garth in which it particularly desired that he act with the utmost openness towards the agents of the other colonies, "consulting with them in every Article" in order to guard against the "most distant suspicions" that there might be the "least wish to make a separate bargain for ourselves, which the House would look upon with abhorance." The committee boldly asserted that "in taxing ourselves & making Laws for our own internal government or police we can by no means allow our Provincial legislatures to be subordinate to any legislative power on earth." Nothing less than the repeal of the Act was desired, and "in order to avoid the possibility of a mistake that may be of the greatest consequences" it was observed that the words "would otherwise relieve" in the petition had been allowed to stand as "words of mere form" only. Verging on a threat was the thought that no one knew how soon another war might come: how

<sup>13</sup> For the quotation see D. D. Wallace, *The Life of Henry Laurens* (New York, 1915), p. 119.

<sup>14</sup> John Drayton, *Memoirs of the American Revolution* (2 vols. Charleston, 1821), I, 48.

<sup>15</sup> HJ, XXXVII, pp. 16-18; Gadsden to Garth, Dec. 2, 1765, in Gibbes, *Doc. Hist., 1764-1776*, p. 7.

<sup>16</sup> HJ, XXXVII, pt. 2, pp. 26-31; Gadsden to Garth, Dec. 2, 1765, in Gibbes, *Doc. Hist., 1764-1776*, pp. 7-8. The more essential of these resolutions are printed in Wallace, *Hist. of S. C.*, II, 69-70. Wallace comments that this "report . . . forms a bill of rights . . . in the constitutional history of South Carolina"—D. D. Wallace, *Constitutional History of South Carolina from 1725 to 1775* (Abbeville, S. C., 1899), pp. 34-35.

<sup>17</sup> HJ, XXXVII, pt. 2, p. 15.



dangerous was it to drive men to despair, and how apt were drowning men to clutch at straws! God forbid that any Prince of Europe should at this critical time make himself master of any one of the colonies. There was an equal plainness in the suggestion that Britain would suffer more than America from any ill consequences of the Act. Should the Americans be treated kindly, there would develop a mutual confidence, and if the colonies were applied to in a constitutional manner there were no lengths to which they would not go to assist the mother country. "It has ever been an observation with regard to the English", Garth was reminded, "that they are a people easily led but with difficulty drove."<sup>18</sup>

There can be little doubt that Gadsden was the chief author of this communication. His previous correspondence with Garth contains many of the same ideas; the language, too, seems in accord with his forthright manner. Yet he was not shouting for independence. In his private letter to Garth of two weeks previous he had hoped that God might "send the desired success" to the petitions "and establish harmony once more. . . ." <sup>19</sup> He wanted liberty, home rule, and self government in all internal matters, but not independence. The following spring he was writing to his friend William S. Johnson, of Connecticut, whom he had met at the Congress: "God grant that our stand may be of service to the cause of liberty in England and effectually awake the starters and big talkers in their sleep there."<sup>20</sup>

While the people of Charleston were perhaps more united in opposition to the Stamp Act than they were on any other issue preceding the Revolution, Gadsden found that, as he wrote Garth, "we have a number of cunning, jacobitical, Butean rascals to encounter, that leave nothing untried to counterwork the firmness and loyalty of the true sons of liberty among us; these are such infernal fiends as none of the sister colonies north of us have to dread, but with all their cunning" he had no doubt but that "the wretched miscreants will find themselves disappointed" and "our just rights and privileges" preserved, "whether they will or no."<sup>21</sup>

Because of the cessation of shipping due to the inability to get stamps, there was a large increase in the number of sailors in the harbor, and there was a fear, as Gadsden explained, "that the num-

<sup>18</sup> Committee of correspondence to Garth, Dec. 16, 1765—Garth trans., 1765-66, L. C.

<sup>19</sup> Gibbes, *Doc. Hist.*, 1764-1776, p. 9.

<sup>20</sup> Gadsden to Johnson, Apr. 16, 1766, in *Historical Magazine, and Notes and Queries concerning the Antiquities, History and Biography of America* (New York, 1861), V, 262. This letter was contributed by George Bancroft. All further references to Gadsden's correspondence with Johnson will be to this same letter. There seems to be no basis for Joseph Johnson's assertion that Gadsden "first spoke of independence in 1764 . . ."—*Traditions and Reminiscences* (Charleston, 1851), p. 41.

<sup>21</sup> Gibbes, *Doc. Hist.*, 1764-1776, p. 8.



ber of sailors would force the stamps upon us, as had been done in Georgia. . . ." In fact, Gadsden found "a number of artful Jacobites in town" who left "nothing untried to poison the minds of the people", and who were continually saying: "We don't like the Stamp Act any more than you do, but why don't you get the Port open upon the same terms as they are in many places to the northward?"<sup>22</sup> Then when the port was about to be opened, Gadsden said "these contradictory wretches did everything in their power to prevent it."<sup>23</sup> There is a strong suggestion that the Scotch merchants of Charleston constituted a large proportion of the "Jacobites", for in a letter to James Parsons, Gadsden warns against the Scotch representations.<sup>24</sup>

The ardor of Gadsden received only sneers from Laurens. Writing to John Lewis Gervais at Ninety-six, and commending him for the vigilance of the "Loyal Frontier-Friends-Club" there, Laurens proceeded to give Gervais a well-informed view of the situation in Charleston. In addition to the "two industrious antiparliamentarians" mentioned by Gervais, there were "my neighbor", Gadsden, and "the Secretary of the Post Office", presumably Peter Timothy, who did "not slacken in their opposition to the . . . Stamps, but except a little private cruizing along the Water side at Nights to see if anything is moving among the Shipping they are pretty quiet & I have been assur'd that more than a few of their Brethren declare their repentance of having interfer'd in matters which did not come properly under their cognisance." Sometimes, he said, these vigilant gentlemen were "a little humm'd too, as the phrase is", by certain deceptive notices calling for meetings to be held at "Bacchies" tavern. On one such "artfully made" occasion, "my said neighbor who attended & plumply took the Chair—as if of right it did to him belong—was exceedingly Chagrin'd to find that nobody knew what they were conven'd for; he first attempted to wheedle a confession from some of the Company but none would Father the Child & then he grew very crabbed which it seems made other folks laugh & me too when I heard it."<sup>25</sup>

Gadsden might be the hero of the Liberty Boys and hold sway in Charleston until the Lieutenant-Governor, the Chief Justice, the stamp distributor, and the group represented by Laurens, might, as the better part of valor, bow before the storm. But not so to the settlers of

<sup>22</sup> Gadsden to Johnson, Apr. 16, 1766, in *Hist. Mag.*, V, 262.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* Perhaps Gadsden was responsible for the "advertisement" appearing at the vendue house commending the Sons of Liberty for their past behavior and particularly exhorting them, in their attempts to open the port, "to apply or rely no more upon a Govrn. who must be advised by a — — Council"—Laurens to John L. Gervais, Jan. 31, 1766 (Laurens Letter Book, 1762-66).

<sup>24</sup> *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, 14 Rept., App., Pt. X (MSS. of the Earl of Dartmouth), II, *American Papers* (London, 1895), 36.

<sup>25</sup> Laurens to Gervais, Jan. 29, 1766—Laurens Letter Book, 1762-66, pp. 354-56.



the back country. Without clergy, churches, courts, sheriffs, jails, and schools, the frontiersmen were without the benefits of civilization; and that which they lacked they greatly desired. Were not their grievances greater than any threatened internal tax that would fall upon those who could bear it best? Where were their liberties? Were they not without representation in the assembly, and in all practical respects denied even the vote of a freeman?<sup>26</sup> By 1765 these people were finding a voice in the person of one Charles Woodmason, a clergyman. The Liberty Boys in general and Gadsden, "the Scriblerus of ye Libertines", in particular, aroused Woodmason and his cohorts. Contrasting their condition with that of the Charlestonians, Woodmason could exclaim: "While these provincials were roaring out agst the Stamp Act & Impositions . . . , they were rioting in Luxury and Extravagance—Balls—Concerts—Assemblies—Private Dances—Cards—Dice—Turtle Feasts—Above all—A Playhouse—was supported & carried on."<sup>27</sup> The back settlers could have no sympathy with the "Men who bounce, & make such Noise about Liberty! Liberty! Freedom! Property! Rights! Privileges!" The tyranny the Sons of Liberty pretended to fear, they made others to feel.

What they point in Idea, the People experience in reality And these very Scriblers, & Assembly orators, who raise such an Outcry agst Statesmen & Government, who ride, oppress, distress and keep under the lowest subjection, half of the Inhabitants . . . not caring who may starve so they can but eat—who sinks, so they swim,—who labour, & are heavy laden, so they can keep their Equipages. Their Throats bellow one thing—But their Hands would execute ye reverse. . . . These are the Sons of Liberty!<sup>28</sup>

To find the Charleston conservatives and the up country frontiersmen of one mind on the Liberty Boys was remarkable indeed, and it was a hint of a division which was to extend through the Revolution. In point of fact, however, Gadsden was sympathetic with the back country; he it was who reported a bill for establishing courts in Granville and Craven counties and the Congarees in March, 1765.<sup>29</sup>

In the controversy with Chief Justice Skinner, Gadsden, no lawyer, was an interested commentator. When his friend Rawlins Lowndes wrote the majority opinion of the court, holding that the court should be opened because stamps could not be had, Gadsden "differed from him in the principle he went upon, that is, I should have built chiefly on the constitutionality of the Act and, asserted it so, roundly; he,

<sup>26</sup> See Wallace, *Hist. of S. C.*, II, Ch. XLIII for a good picture of the back settlers and a clear explanation of their grievances.

<sup>27</sup> Fulham MSS., N. C., S. C., Ga., no. 72, undated, Library of Congress transcript.

<sup>28</sup> Fulham MSS., S. C., no. 57, undated, Library of Congress transcript.

<sup>29</sup> HJ, XXXVII, 35, 62. This and other legislation was put to a stop by the Stamp Act.



I know, thinks it as unconstitutional as I do, but imagined it more prudent and advantageous in our present circumstances not to touch upon that string.”<sup>30</sup> The Chief Justice Gadsden referred to as one “whose character and abilities (if he has either), you cannot be unacquainted with. . . .”<sup>31</sup> When His Majesty’s Council refused to yield to the court on a disputed point, Gadsden described it as “consisting chiefly of Placemen and men of known arbitrary principles and very slender abilities.” He likewise expressed this fairly accurate opinion of Bull:

Our Lt. Governor in his private character is a very agreeable polite man and very well beloved, but as a Governor is and always has been the weakest and most unsteady man I ever knew, so very obliging that he never obliged. The regard for him as a private gentleman has had too great weight with many in our house and occasioned great difficulties. In short 'tis a great and common misfortune, that weak and good natured men . . . are often driven . . . into the greatest inconsistencies being as it were tossed perpetually from one particular feeling or compassion to another without any permanent principle to rest upon. . . .<sup>32</sup>

News of the repeal of the Stamp Act reached Charleston early in May, and there was a great and prolonged celebration. “The joy of the people on this occasion”, wrote Bull, “was demonstrated by running almost to Excess. . . .”<sup>33</sup> And Gadsden was perhaps the most excited of all. The Speaker of the House, Peter Manigault, wrote to Gadsden’s brother Thomas, then in London: “. . . at last the happy news of the repeal of the Stamp Act arrived, and all was jollity and mirth. Your honest brother was so overcome at hearing it that he almost fainted, and the Corner Club having met on the occasion were attacked by some rascals and got several broken heads.”<sup>34</sup>

This was a stirring time for Gadsden and his colleagues who attended the Stamp Act Congress; on May 7 a committee of the House requested them to sit for their portraits which were to be hung in the assembly room as a memorial of the high esteem which the House had for them and for the great service they had rendered their country.<sup>35</sup>

On June 4, the King’s birthday, there was a further demonstration of the people, and Captain Gadsden’s Artillery Company, together with a new company of light infantry, was drawn up in Broad Street

<sup>30</sup> Gadsden to Johnson, Apr. 16, 1766, *Hist. Mag.*, V, 261.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 260.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 261.

<sup>33</sup> Bull to Henry S. Conway, May 9, 1766—Public Records of South Carolina, MS (Historical Commission, Columbia), XXXI, 59.

<sup>34</sup> May 14, 1766, quoted in Harriott Horry Ravenel (Mrs. St. Julien), *Charleston, the Place and the People* (New York, 1906), p. 163.

<sup>35</sup> HJ, XXXVII, 120; *S. C. Gazette*, June 2-9, 1766. There is no evidence that the portraits were ever done.



and reviewed by the Lieutenant-Governor and other notables;<sup>36</sup> two days later Gadsden was one of a committee to prepare an address thanking the King for his "great goodness" in "graciously relieving" the people of the Stamp Act;<sup>37</sup> and when the new governor, Lord Charles Montagu, arrived on June 11, Gadsden again had his Artillery Company drawn up to greet the reading of the governor's commission with a general discharge of cannon followed by a volley of small arms.<sup>38</sup>

In the midst of this universal rejoicing there was one aspect of the repeal of the Stamp Act that was generally overlooked but in which Gadsden and certain Sons of Liberty saw something ominous. That was the Declaratory Act, passed by Parliament, "for the better securing the dependency of his Majesty's dominions. . . ." Therein were a few carefully chosen phrases fixing the supremacy of King and Parliament to a degree never anticipated before the Stamp Act. Soon the determined Gadsden was meeting with William Johnson, Tunis Tebaut, Johnson's partner in the blacksmith business, Daniel Cannon, carpenter, and the oldest and most influential mechanic in Charleston, Edward Weyman, upholsterer, and some twenty other painters, coachmakers, sadlers, and wheelwrights, under an oak tree in Mr. Mazyck's pasture in Hampstead on Charleston Neck. There can be no doubt that this score of men constituted the nucleus of the Sons of Liberty, and their place of meeting was henceforth known as the Liberty Tree. What Gadsden said there is not known, but he is reported to have "harangued" the group "at considerable length, on the folly of relaxing their opposition and vigilance, or of indulging the fallacious hope that Great Britain would relinquish her designs or pretensions." Another reported that "reviewing all the chances of succeeding in a struggle to break the fetters whenever again imposed on them, he pressed them to prepare their minds for the event. . . ." This "address was received with silent and profound attention; and, with linked hands, the whole party pledged themselves to resist. . . ." <sup>39</sup>

It seems doubtful that Gadsden advocated complete independence of England at this time. One may well believe that he was profoundly disturbed by the Declaratory Act, and that, knowing as he did the many other grievances which the province still labored under, he

<sup>36</sup> *S. C. Gazette*, June 2-9, 1766.

<sup>37</sup> HJ, XXXVII, 142, 164.

<sup>38</sup> *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, June 17, 1766.

<sup>39</sup> Johnson, *Traditions and Reminiscences*, p. 28; William Johnson, *Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene* (2 vols. Charleston, 1822), I, 266, n. There is no certainty of the date of this meeting, nor even that it was the first. Cf. Johnson, *Traditions and Reminiscences*, p. 41. There seem to have been Liberty Trees also in Charlestown, Lexington and Roxbury, Mass., and Newport and Providence, R. I.



might anticipate future troubles. But only in case of failure to devise a way to reconcile conflicting interests could revolution come. It seems unlikely that Gadsden, being the forthright man he was, could at the same time report an address of thanks to the King, salute the governor with his company of artillery, and advocate colonial independence. Deeply moved by the passing and threatening events, he was probably fearing revolution rather than advocating independence.



## THE NULLIFICATION CONTROVERSY IN AN UP-COUNTRY DISTRICT

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The people of Greenville District were rather slow in feeling that the tariff was detrimental to their interests. The first newspaper in the District, established at Greenville Court House on July 12, 1826, contains no criticism of the Tariff of 1824.<sup>1</sup> At that time B. J. Earle,<sup>2</sup> one of the leading lawyers, and Jeremiah Cleveland,<sup>3</sup> one of the leading merchants, were in favor of the tariff.<sup>4</sup> The proposed Woolens bill of 1827 was firmly objected to as unfair class legislation, but was not opposed for its economic effect, since homespun was generally used throughout the District.<sup>5</sup>

There were three other reasons why Greenville was rather slow in reacting against the tariff. First, it was not entirely dependent upon cotton, for corn and wheat were planted in rather large quantities; second, a spirited summer resort business had developed within the District; and third, the state had built the Saluda Mountain Road and the trade with Kentucky and Tennessee had become of much importance.<sup>6</sup>

When word came of the violent protests against the tariff in meet-

<sup>1</sup> This newspaper was the *Greenville Republican*. Messrs. Young and Timme were the owners. On October 7, 1826, Charles W. D'Oyley (formerly of Charleston) became the editor, and on November 3, 1827, O. H. Wells (a native of Massachusetts) became the owner and publisher. Mr. Wells ran the paper until August 30, 1828, when he suspended temporarily in order to get better equipment. He resumed publication on January 10, 1829, but changed its title to *The Mountaineer*. On January 16, 1830, B. F. Perry became its editor and the name was again changed, this time to the *Greenville Mountaineer*. Mr. Wells continued the publication of the paper until 1850. He employed an editor when he could secure one, and in the intervals edited it himself. Other outstanding editors besides Perry, were William Lowndes Yancey, George F. Townes and William H. Campbell. After Wells sold the paper it existed under that name and in conjunction with other papers down into the post-war period. However, it can hardly be called the same paper after the early 1850's. The files of the *Republican* and the *Mountaineer* until Wells sold it in 1850, are the property of Mrs. A. H. Wells of Greenville, S. C. (1939). These files (1826-1835) constitute the chief source for this article.

<sup>2</sup> He was an outstanding Circuit Judge from 1830-44. For his public career—*Greenville Mountaineer*, May 31, June 7, 1844.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the wealthiest merchant of Greenville. *Ibid.*, January 9, 1846. The writer has been told that Vardry McBee, an extensive property owner but not yet a resident, had no fear of the tariff.

<sup>4</sup> B. F. Perry, *Reminiscences of Public Men With Speeches and Addresses* (Second Series, Greenville, 1889), p. 201.

<sup>5</sup> *Greenville Republican*, August 11, 1827. The toasts given at July 4 celebrations usually convey public sentiment. Attacks on the tariff are conspicuously absent from these toasts. *Ibid.*, July 12, 1826; July 14, 1827; July 12, 1828.

<sup>6</sup> Following the local paper for a year would convince anyone that Greenville was not busy growing cotton, but that the activities above absorbed much of the time and thought.



ings at Walterboro and Columbia in the summer of 1827, Editor D'Oyley of the *Greenville Republican* said, "Some allusion has been made to a separation of the States—the dissolution of the Union ought to be regarded as an *impossible event*. We should not even speak of it. The wretch who would seriously wish for a separation of the States should be hunted down like a wild beast, or shot like a mad dog."<sup>7</sup> He deprecated the resolution from Colleton which he called "The Walterborough threat to the North." He thought the threat contemptible coming from a District with only about one thousand whites capable of bearing arms. He hoped that citizens of the North would not consider it as "indicative of public feeling in South Carolina." He added further,

Those who calculate on any countenance or support from Greenville in propagating principles or defending conduct, hostile to the Union, are egregiously mistaken; they may rest satisfied that such sentiments and their authors will be regarded with horror and indignation by every man in the District. . . . We unhesitatingly declare, that we should be glad to see the first traitor who should propose a dissolution of the Union, sacrificed to honest indignation, and hung without judge or jury.<sup>8</sup>

The Woolens bill failed to pass Congress, but the following year a more severe bill was passed—the Tariff of Abominations. This measure was violently opposed over the state, but the Greenville paper praised Governor Taylor for not calling the Legislature in extra session as an anti-tariff meeting in Colleton wanted him to do. The Editor suggested that if the low-country wished to secede from the Union, that the up-country would leave the low-country.<sup>9</sup> "As regards the tariff," said he, "we believe that the opposition to it in Greenville will be firm, reasonable, and worthy of citizens of this great republic. But we will not tolerate one word about disunion."<sup>10</sup>

Enough interest was finally aroused in Greenville to call its first anti-tariff meeting for September 15, 1828.<sup>11</sup> Waddy Thompson, a member of the Legislature and destined to become one of the greatest men of the District, violently opposed the tariff. He threatened to "live on snow birds, and walk around the circuit on foot rather than

<sup>7</sup> August 11, 1827.

<sup>8</sup> September 8, 1827. The *Charleston Mercury* accused the *Greenville Republican* and the *Pendleton Messenger* of misrepresenting the views of their respective Districts, but Editor D'Oyley was positive that both papers expressed the views of their people. *Greenville Republican*, October 6, 1827.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, July 19, 26, 1828.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, August 16, 1828.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, August 30, 1828. Due to temporary suspension of the local paper this meeting is not recorded. Boucher says that the *Charleston Mercury* reported an anti-tariff meeting for Greenville on September 9, 1828. C. S. Boucher, *The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina* (Chicago, 1916), p. 11.



eat Kentucky pork or ride Kentucky horses.”<sup>12</sup> The spirited discussion in the Legislative session of 1828 stressed the evil effects of the tariff to such an extent that Editor Wells of the *Mountaineer* filled his columns with anti-tariff news for several months thereafter. After reading the *Exposition and Protest*, with its doctrine of nullification, he commented, “It is an able State paper, a powerful exposé of our wrongs, and [but] more ingenious than correct in the remedy it proposes.”<sup>13</sup>

On January 16, 1830, Benjamin Franklin Perry assumed control of the editorial page of the local newspaper. He believed in the rights of the people and the union of the states. He opposed the tariff but objected to the idea of nullification in any form, believing that the Supreme Court should be the arbiter. He argued that sovereignty in this country was divided among the federal government, the states, and the people. He reasoned that peaceable secession was absolutely impossible. For these ideas he fought fearlessly and became the leading Unionist in Greenville and among the foremost in the state.<sup>14</sup>

Soon after Perry began his editorship there took place in the United States Senate the famous Hayne-Webster debate, which served to advertise the nullification doctrine in spite of the fact that Hayne mis-stated it.<sup>15</sup> Perry made good use of his editorial page to display the weak points of the doctrine claiming that it would give the minority the right to govern, and contending that the twenty-four states would be forced to approve unanimously any law before it could be passed effectively by Congress.<sup>16</sup>

Perry by no means had the support of all the people of Greenville. He declared that the toasts at the July 4 celebration of 1830 would have been considered treason a few years before.<sup>17</sup> On July 28 a public dinner was held in the village of Greenville in honor of Warren R. Davis, at that time Congressman from the Greenville-Pendleton District.<sup>18</sup> Davis, an ardent Nullifier, denounced the combination of East and West which was ruining the South. He declared that he had no love for the Union and felt that South Carolina should not submit to the Tariff of Abominations. He wanted a convention elected by the people of the state to nullify the unconstitutional law. Dr. William Butler and Waddy Thompson, local candidates for the state Legislature, made similar speeches. Perry, in a minority at the dinner,

<sup>12</sup> Perry, *Reminiscences*, p. 205. Dr. Wallace, quoting Boucher, makes it his father's statement—Judge Waddy Thompson. D. D. Wallace, *History of South Carolina* (4 vols., New York, 1934), II, 422.

<sup>13</sup> *The Mountaineer*, February 28, 1829.

<sup>14</sup> *Greenville Mountaineer*, January 16, April 23, 1830; January 19, 1833.

<sup>15</sup> Wallace, *History of South Carolina*, II, 432-33. Perry published extracts from the debate through the months of February and March.

<sup>16</sup> *Greenville Mountaineer*, April 3, 1830.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, July 9, 16, 1830.

<sup>18</sup> Resident of Pendleton and Congressman, 1826-1835.



opposed these views saying: "Give this power to the States and the Federal Government is worse than a rope of sand."<sup>19</sup>

The views expressed at this dinner stirred the people of the District to quick action. August 2 being sale day they came to the Court House in large numbers. The candidates for the Legislature were called upon to express their views. Waddy Thompson, Dr. William Butler and Tandy Walker declared that they were in favor of the Legislature's calling a convention, while John H. Harrison and Wilson Cobb opposed the call. The people generally objected to the call, and the first three candidates agreed to retire from the race. It was then proposed that they remain as candidates but be instructed to vote against a convention. This they refused to do.<sup>20</sup>

The excitement led the leading men to state more clearly the ideas which they held. John H. Harrison opposed a convention for the purpose of nullification believing that it would lead to a dissolution of the Union. He stated that South Carolina stood alone in demanding such action and it would be impossible to get as good a bargain in a new union—certainly not representation for three-fifths of the slaves. Waddy Thompson was anxious to save the Union but felt that if nothing were done to check the combination of East and West the South would eventually be forced to break away. He thought that a convention should first protest to Congress and if that failed it should then nullify the tariff act. He also objected to the Supreme Court as being the interpreter of the constitutionality of a law.<sup>21</sup> Tandy Walker held that the Legislature had done all that it could do in the way of protest. The only answer now was in the reserved powers of the state in its highest sovereign capacity—the convention.<sup>22</sup> B. J. Earle favored a convention, but opposed nullification and all talk of disunion. This view made a convention appear to be a rather mild affair.<sup>23</sup>

Many moderate men accepted the idea of a convention when it was shorn of nullification, and the three legislative candidates who had retired from the race again entered it. The campaign was waged primarily on the convention issue with three on each side. The Non-

<sup>19</sup> *Greenville Mountaineer*, July 30, 1830. After the law was nullified Davis wanted the importer to refuse to pay the tax (a credit revenue system was then in vogue), and then the U. S. would sue. The case would go to a jury and the jury would decide with the convention that the law was unconstitutional. The S. C. ports would thus become free ports and get much trade. The law would soon become inoperative—all by "trial by jury." *Ibid.*, August 13, 1830. Davis had previously advocated each state passing its own tariff laws with the revenue going into the U. S. Treasury—*The Mountaineer*, May 2, 1829.

<sup>20</sup> *Greenville Mountaineer*, August 6, 1830. There was some talk of trying to defeat Warren R. Davis for Congress since he favored the convention, but this was discouraged by Perry. *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, August 13, 1830.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, September 3, 1830.



Convention candidates won by a decisive majority in spite of the fact that they were competing with very popular men.<sup>24</sup>

Editor Perry was extremely active throughout the campaign and refused to accept the idea of a convention, no matter how innocent it was reputed to be. He argued that one was not needed for the purpose of protest because the Legislature had already protested and could repeat it. He felt that a convention for the purpose of nullifying a federal law would be disastrous, because nullification and disunion were synonymous. In speaking to a large group of Greenville citizens on the question he said,

I will not detain you any longer to impress on your minds the value of this union. I know that your attachment to it is sufficiently strong. I believe that you prefer it to every political blessing except that of liberty. I believe you will, in the language of the Father of His Country, 'frown indignantly upon the first dawning of every effort to alienate one portion of it from another.' I believe you will concur with me in a sentiment which I gave two years ago on this subject. 'Political infamy to him who wishes and the dagger of a Brutus for him who attempts the dissolution of this Union.'<sup>25</sup>

Perry published the letter of James Madison to the *North American Review* in which the Father of the Constitution flatly denied that his Virginia Resolutions of 1798 were any authority for the Carolina Doctrine of Nullification. This was a blow to the Nullifiers because they had cited Madison as authority for their ideas.<sup>26</sup>

The convention question caused a furious debate in the South Carolina Legislature in December, 1830. Although those in favor were in a decided majority, they were unable to command the two-thirds vote necessary to call the convention.<sup>27</sup>

The failure of the Legislature to call a convention did not mean that the contest was over. The next year the *Greenville Mountaineer* carried the heading, "It is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union."<sup>28</sup> Party lines became more tightly drawn. Dr. Symmes, the able editor of the *Pendleton Messenger*, took up the fight for the Nullifiers and hotly opposed Perry's Unionist paper in the northwest part of the state.<sup>29</sup>

On September 5, 1831, the Nullifiers of the District met at Greenville and worked out a more effective organization. They were now suggesting that the tariff law be nullified by the Legislature. Not to

<sup>24</sup> Wilson Cobb received 1,256; Micajah Berry, 992; John H. Harrison, 970; Waddy Thompson, 716; Tandy Walker, 547; William Butler, 515. The Senator at that time was Banister Stone. *Ibid.*, October 15, 22, 1830.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, September 3, 1830.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, October 29, November 5, 1830.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, December 17, 1830.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, January 15, May 14, 1831.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, June 18, July 2, July 23, 1831.



be outdone the Unionists immediately planned a great rally for October 3. At this meeting carefully prepared resolutions were passed showing the views of the majority in the District. They deplored the party divisions within the state because the energies of the people were directed at fighting each other rather than the tariff. They were willing to try all constitutional methods for resisting the tariff, but they would not submit to nullification by the Legislature. They felt that nullification was revolution and that it would destroy the Union; but after all other forms of redress had been exhausted they would abide by the action of a convention elected by the people, provided the consequences of such action had been previously explained to them. At a meeting in the upper part of the District secession was threatened provided the Legislature nullified the tariff law.<sup>30</sup>

In spite of the fact that the Nullifiers had a majority in the Legislature of 1831 nothing drastic was done. They poured their wrath upon President Jackson on account of his uncompromising stand against them.<sup>31</sup> Both parties appealed to the people of the state in long addresses<sup>32</sup> and it was soon apparent that the nullification issue would be decided in the next election for the Legislature.<sup>33</sup>

Greenville lost no time in beginning the campaign. During the first week in May the old delegation announced themselves as candidates of the Union Party. The Nullifiers placed in the race Dr. William Butler for the Senate and Tandy Walker, William Choice and Robert Maxwell for the House.<sup>34</sup> The opening dispute occurred when citizens met to make arrangements for the Independence Day celebration at the Court House. Such angry discussion took place between representatives of the two parties that it was decided to forego the customary dinner and toasts.<sup>35</sup> The party battle even entered the town elections in the village of Greenville.<sup>36</sup>

Knowing the strong unionist sentiment in the District, and attributing it to the effective work of Editor Perry's paper, the friends of John C. Calhoun in Pendleton persuaded Turner Bynum to go to Greenville and establish a rival journal.<sup>37</sup> On June 23, 1832, the first issue of the *Southern Sentinel* appeared, edited by Turner Bynum

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, September 10, October 8, 1831.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, December 10, 1831; January 14, 1832.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, January 7, 28, 1832.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, May 5, 1832.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, May 5, 12, October 13, 1832.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, May 12, June 30, 1832.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, September 8, 1832. Out of the voters in the town the Unionists were reported to have 76, the Nullifiers 21, and 10 doubtful, *Ibid.*, May 12, 1832.

<sup>37</sup> R. W. Simpson, *History of Old Pendleton District with a Genealogy of the Leading Families of the District* (Anderson, S. C., 1913), p. 35. Bynum had previously arranged to establish a nullification paper in Montgomery, Alabama. *Greenville Mountaineer*, March 10, 1832.



and published by B. Bynum and G. E. W. Nelson.<sup>38</sup> Perry did not feel that his paper had much influence in making Greenville Unionist in sympathy. He welcomed the new paper by saying,

The Editor is a young man of talents and literary attainments, and will, no doubt, conduct the Sentinel with great zeal and ability. He says in his address that his course shall be governed by fair, open and manly argument, without descending to the slang, abuse and personalities of a newspaper bully. To such an Editor, conducting his paper on such principles, we shall always be happy to extend the right hand of friendship and good feeling. Although we differ on abstract principles, it is no cause for a want of civility, courtesy and kindness which mark the conduct of friends and honorable men.<sup>39</sup>

Neither this friendly introduction nor any other personal matter published in *The Mountaineer* suggests grounds for the duel between the two editors which ended in the death of Bynum a few months after launching his paper.<sup>40</sup>

In July, 1832, there was a slight reduction of the tariff by Congress with three Congressmen from South Carolina voting for the bill. Although it still had the protective feature *The Mountaineer* defended it as a step in the right direction and an indication that further reductions would follow.<sup>41</sup> A Unionist meeting at the Court House on September 10, with over one thousand present, approved the action of the Congressmen who supported the bill. They still opposed a state convention but were willing to cooperate with the Nullifiers in a constitutional attack on the tariff, suggesting a Southern Convention.<sup>42</sup> On September 19 the Nullifiers gave a large dinner to honor the Congressmen who voted against this tariff bill. Judge Baylis J. Earle presided, and among those present were Congressman Warren R. Davis, Governor Hamilton, Chancellor Harper and George McDuffie.<sup>43</sup>

Even such an array of talent as the above had no effect upon Unionist Greenville as the election for the Legislature soon proved. All the Unionist candidates were re-elected by even larger majorities than two years before. At Dickies, a polling place near the mountains, the Nullifiers received only one vote out of one hundred eighty-four.<sup>44</sup>

Events now followed fast. Governor Hamilton called the newly elected Legislature in special session and the Legislature in turn

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, June 30, 1832. The writer has not been able to locate even one issue of this paper. It evidently ran until December. *Ibid.*, December 15, 1832.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, June 30, 1832.

<sup>40</sup> Simpson, *History of Old Pendleton District*, p. 35.

<sup>41</sup> *Greenville Mountaineer*, July 28, August 25, September 1, 1832.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, September 15, 1832.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, September 22, 1832.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, October 13, 1832. For Senator: Banister Stone, 1,311; Butler, 334. For House: Cobb, 1,293; Harrison, 1,280; Berry, 1,279; Walker, 500; Maxwell, 471; Choice, 427.



called on the people to elect delegates to a convention. Both of these events were against the wishes of the Greenville delegation.<sup>45</sup> Since each election district was to elect as many delegates as it had members of the Legislature, Greenville was entitled to four. The Unionist candidates were B. F. Perry, Silas R. Whitten, Thomas P. Brockman and Henry Middleton. The latter, a former governor of the state from Charleston, had at one time resided in Greenville during the summer months. The candidates of the Nullifiers were Judge B. J. Earle, Dr. William Butler, William Thruston and Benjamin Arnold. Needless to say the Unionists were overwhelmingly elected.<sup>46</sup>

The four Greenville members of the Convention voted against the Nullification Ordinance and refused to sign their names to it.<sup>47</sup> Henry Middleton attempted to block the work of the Convention by claiming that it did not represent the whole people, but that representation in it was based on a compound ratio of population and property. He introduced a resolution to refer the entire business of a convention back to the Legislature for reconsideration. Should that body find a convention necessary it should call one in which the representation of the people would be full and complete. The resolution was not even given the courtesy of a discussion.<sup>48</sup> The Convention required that all officers of the state, except members of the Legislature, take an oath to support the Nullification Ordinance, and any law regarding its enforcement. Even members of a jury sitting on a case involving the Ordinance were required to take the oath.<sup>49</sup>

The Greenville delegates returned home in a very bitter frame of mind. They condemned the high handed methods of the Convention and blamed the trouble on the rotten boroughs in the low-country parishes. The people responded by holding a meeting of protest against the actions of the Convention.<sup>50</sup>

The regular session of the Legislature convened in December, and passed laws to carry out the Ordinance of Nullification. President Jackson's Proclamation, stating that the laws of the United States would be enforced, only angered the Nullifier majority. Plans were made for raising a volunteer army and equipping it. Perry felt that civil war was imminent. He called on the Unionists to defend themselves and placed on his editorial page the inscription, "The Union Must Be Preserved."<sup>51</sup>

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, November 3, 1832.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, November 10, 17, 1832. Perry received 1,055; Brockman, 1,043; Middleton, 1,034; Whitten, 1,022; Earle 381; Butler 363; Thruston, 349; and Arnold, 342.

<sup>47</sup> *Journal of the Conventions of the People of South Carolina Held in 1832, 1833, and 1852* (Columbia, 1860), pp. 25-26, 51-53.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>50</sup> *Greenville Mountaineer*, December 1, 8, 1832.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, December 29, 1832.



A state-wide meeting of Unionists in Columbia decided that they would not submit to the so called Test Oath which had been required of office holders by the Convention. Their plan was to organize semi-military societies throughout the state in order to be in a position to defend themselves more readily. Accordingly, six of these societies were formed in Greenville District.<sup>52</sup> The main society, which was organized at the Court House passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, that no matter what may be our allegiance to South Carolina, we owe none to those who are now wielding her sovereignty; and we shall ever keep in mind that *they are not* "The State", but the *destroyers* of the Union and the *enemies* of Regulated Liberty.

Resolved, that Greenville never will obey any call on her militia to march against the Government of the United States, and that she *defies* the *tyranny of the Nullifiers*—scorns their *insolence*, and *despises their menaces*.

Resolved, that the "Test Oath" is *wilful, deliberate perjury*, and that no civil or military officer in the District will submit to it whilst he has any regard for his reputation or cares for the *scorn* and *contempt* of his fellow citizens.

Resolved, that we form ourselves into a Society, the object of which shall be to *sustain the government*—support the Union—preserve peace—and oppose Nullification.

They approved the Proclamation of President Jackson, criticized the Legislature for not giving him the electoral vote of the state, and appointed a committee to write him that Greenville would stand by him to preserve the Union.<sup>53</sup>

The Paris Mountain Union Society with C. W. D'Oyley as president, expressed itself as follows:

Resolved, that the Federal Union must be preserved or we will perish in the attempt to preserve it.

Resolved, that in defense of the Federal Union, we have drawn our swords and flung away the scabbards.

Resolved . . . that we have but two words by way of reply to the Nullifiers, which are these: "Come on."<sup>54</sup>

The above quotations show the temper of the people of Greenville District. Governor Hayne's Proclamation drew only 120 volunteers for service to the state while around 500 had voted for the Nullifiers in the last election. This would indicate that Greenville was more Unionist than ever.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, January 19, February 2, 9, 1833. Perry, *Reminiscences*, p. 212.

<sup>53</sup> *Greenville Mountaineer*, January 12, 1833. The officers of this society were: President, Barksdale Garrison; Vice-Presidents, Benajah Dunham, T. P. Brockman, Wilson Barton; Secretary-Treasurer, Dr. A. B. Cook; Committee of Correspondence, B. F. Perry, J. H. Harrison, Spartan Goodlett.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, February 23, 1833.



The issue in South Carolina was not settled by force because Congress passed a tariff law which was accepted by the Nullifiers as a compromise. The South Carolina Convention reassembled in March, 1833, and the leaders exercised just enough moderation to bring temporary peace to the state. Perry, feeling that the great contest was over, resigned the editorship of the *Greenville Mountaineer*.<sup>56</sup>

The party controversy remained dormant in Greenville District through most of the Spring and Summer of 1833. Warren R. Davis reopened the wounds, while campaigning for Congress in August of that year, by advocating that the General Assembly require a Test Oath demanding supreme allegiance to the state. He barely defeated Joseph Grisham, the Unionist candidate who opposed such action. but Greenville gave Grisham approximately a four to one majority.<sup>57</sup> O. H. Wells, again editing the local paper, felt that if the Legislature passed a Test Oath more trouble than ever would be the result.<sup>58</sup>

The last session of the Nullification Convention recommended the enactment of such a law when and if it was needed.<sup>59</sup> The General Assembly, meeting in December with a decided Nullifier majority, lost no time in denying rights to the Unionist minority, although the great cry of the Nullifiers had been against the ruthless majority in Congress. In order to rid the state of the Unionist militia officers a bill was passed which forced all military officers to take an oath of allegiance to the state. A constitutional amendment was also enacted, to be confirmed by the next Legislature, which provided for a Test Oath for all state officials.<sup>60</sup>

These acts met with a storm of protest in Greenville. The largest Unionist meeting yet held in the District took place at the Court House on February 3, to protest against the obnoxious laws. The crowd of twelve to fifteen hundred, under the leadership of Josiah Kilgore, Benajah Dunham and B. F. Perry, decided to pursue peaceful means for a redress of grievances, but many were ready to shed blood.<sup>61</sup>

The Union party decided to hold a state-wide convention, and Unionist Greenville was selected as the meeting place. The sessions were held in the Methodist Church on March 24, 25, and 26, with Daniel E. Huger presiding. One hundred ten delegates attended from all sections of the state and many who could not attend pledged their lives and property to the cause. The Convention, led by Huger, Poinsett, and Perry, decided to resort to the courts and ballot box to ad-

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, March 23, 30, 1833.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, August 10, September 7, 1833.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, November 23, 1833.

<sup>59</sup> *Convention Journal*, pp. 132-33.

<sup>60</sup> *Greenville Mountaineer*, January 4, 11, 1834.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, February 8, 1834.



just their wrongs, but they made it plain that they would not be enslaved by a ruthless majority.<sup>62</sup>

The first test of the new battle in Greenville occurred in April when the elections were held for the minor militia officers. Practically all those elected were Union men. Waddy Thompson, the Nullifier Brigadier-General of the First Brigade, called on the officers to take the oath required by the Legislature. Trouble was averted by the state Court of Appeals declaring the oath unconstitutional.<sup>63</sup> At the large gatherings celebrating Independence Day in the District the Test Oath Amendment was denounced and Unionist sentiment was enthusiastically expressed.<sup>64</sup>

With the coming of the fall elections political excitement increased. Both parties held large meetings in September. The Unionists again nominated their veteran delegation as candidates for the Legislature and the Nullifiers did not deem it worth while to oppose them. Perry entered the Congressional race against Davis. The *Greenville Mountaineer* called on all to vote, claiming it to be the most important election ever held in the state and suggesting it might be the last free one.<sup>65</sup> Perry lost the election by a very narrow margin, although he carried Greenville almost four to one.<sup>66</sup>

During the pre-election campaign a new face appeared among the Unionists of Greenville. This man was William Lowndes Yancey who had recently come from Abbeville to read law in the office of Perry. He threw himself into the thick of the fight, denouncing the Nullifiers in the harshest terms, thereby failing to display the slightest indication that he would lead the fight to destroy the Union twenty-six years later. One of his first acts was to clash with Waddy Thompson by reporting a meeting in a manner that the latter resented. Yancey maintained his statements in spite of the protest of Thompson.<sup>67</sup> Realizing his ability and courage the Unionists persuaded him to become editor of the local paper. He began this task on November 22, 1834, for the cause of liberty and the Union. He violently opposed nullification as well as secession, and objected to any Test Oath concerning allegiance or state sovereignty. Hatred of Calhoun and his ideas seemed to be an obsession with him.<sup>68</sup>

When the Greenville delegation went to the Legislative session in December they carried a protest against the passage of the Test Oath Amendment signed by 1,428 citizens of the District. In spite of this and other petitions, the amendment was passed. However, the ma-

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, March 29, 1834.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, April 19, 26, June 7, 1834.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, July 12, 1834.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, September 6, October 4, 1834.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, October 18, 1834.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, October 18, 25, November 1, 1834.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, November 22, 1834, *passim*.



jority, realizing the violent opposition to the measure, finally agreed to what was accepted by most people as a compromise. The main substance of this compromise was a report from a Joint Committee on Federal Relations which declared that the Test Oath was not intended to conflict with the obligation of a citizen to the Constitution of the United States.<sup>69</sup>

Both Yancey and Perry refused to accept the compromise<sup>70</sup>, but the Legislative delegation from Greenville held it to be satisfactory.<sup>71</sup> The *Greenville Mountaineer* tried to keep the contest open,<sup>72</sup> but the people evidently were ready for it to close. Yancey, finally realizing this, resigned the editorship on May 16, 1835.

There were two other events during the year 1835 which caused a temporary revival of party trouble. The first took place when the militia officers in the District refused to attend encampment because the orders were issued by General Waddy Thompson, who had been appointed by a Nullifier Legislature rather than elected by the members of the militia.<sup>73</sup> The second event was when Thompson and Perry, the leaders of their respective parties, campaigned for the unexpired term of Warren R. Davis. The former won the election, although Greenville gave Perry a three to one majority.<sup>74</sup>

Thus the agitation closed in Greenville, and the large majority of the people in the District agreed with the closing words of Perry's speech at Cowpens battlefield in 1835 when he said: "I would exhort you, Fellow Citizens, in the name of your Country, in the name of Liberty, and in the name of Almighty God, to look to this sacred Union—reared by the wisdom and cemented with the blood of your fathers—as the Bulwark of your Freedom—as the Palladium of your Liberty—as the *very existence* of your National Independence and your prosperity and happiness as a people."<sup>75</sup>

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, December 13, 1834.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, December 20, 1834, January 24, February 14, 1835. Perry accepted it later—Perry, *Reminiscences*, p. 213.

<sup>71</sup> *Greenville Mountaineer*, February 7, 1835.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, February 21, April 25, May 2, 9, 1835.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, August 1, 22, September 5, 1835.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, September 12, 1835. Davis died in Washington, January 29, 1835—*Ibid.*, February 14, 1835.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, February 14, 1835.



THE CONSTITUTIONAL ORGANIZATION AND MOBILIZATION  
OF THE  
NATIONAL GUARDS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

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In essaying a consideration of the final mobilization of the National Guards in 1791, one is confronted immediately with many technical problems of the period of governmental transition of the early years of the French Revolution. From a constitutional and emergency viewpoint, the creation and mobilization of the Guards had much in common with the legislative history of the new army in its formative period. This Army of 1791 was erected on the *Constitution Militaire* of February 28, 1790, and the laws of July 31, and August 18, 1790, which specified the "Tables of Organization".<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the ultimate organization of the National Guards as an active part of the "national force" necessitated additional and special legislation in an elaboration of its constitutional purpose and in determining its exact relation to the regular establishment.

The National Guards had already been formed when the National Assembly selected the *Comité Militaire* on October 1, 1789.<sup>2</sup> In addition to its cooperation with the Minister of War in the organization of the regular army, the *Comité* was called upon to set up a vast *sedentaire*, or reserve force. With respect to the organization of this Revolutionary army, M. de Bouthillier made the initial report of the *Comité* on November 12, 1789.<sup>3</sup> This proposal resulted in the decree of December 16, which provided for the recruiting of the army by voluntary enlistment.<sup>4</sup> On November 28, M. Dubois-de-Crancé presented a complete plan for the organization of the national army in his recommendation that (1) the first line, or active army, should consist of 150,000 men; (2) the second line, of 150,000 militia; (3) the third line, of 1,200,000 armed citizens.<sup>5</sup> According to this plan

<sup>1</sup> Faustin Hélie, *Les Constitutions de la France* (Paris: Maresco, 1870), pp. 103-104.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. Gournay, *Journal Militaire* (Paris: Berlin, 1790—An VIII), I, 16, gives the personnel of this *Comité*: MM. Emery, de Wimpfen, Le Marquis de Rostaing, Le Comte d'Egmont, Dubois-de-Crancé, Le Marquis de Bouthillier, Le Comte de Gomer, Le Vicomte de Noailles, Le Vicomte de Panat, Le Baron de Flaschlanden, Le Baron de Menon, Le Comte de Mirabeau.

<sup>3</sup> M. de Bouthillier. *Rapport sur le recrutement, les engagements, les réengagements, et les congés*, 19 novembre 1789 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1790).

<sup>4</sup> *Procès-verbal de l'assemblée nationale* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1792), 16 décembre 1789, the official minutes.

<sup>5</sup> *Archives Parlementaires de 1787 à 1860* (Paris: Paul Dupont, 1867-), X, 522.



the new national army was not to be recruited from the lowest class, as had been the custom in the heyday of the aristocratic régime of the Bourbons. In synthesizing the demands of the *cahiers*, Dubois-de-Crancé suggested that his new army should be representative of the nation.<sup>6</sup> In the final consideration of the ultimate plan for organization of the National Guards in 1791, the third proposal played a predominant part. On January 20, 1790, M. de Bouthillier presented the views of the *Comité Militaire* on the size of the army.<sup>7</sup> In his "First Question" he entered a detailed discussion of the *force nécessaire de l'armée en temps de paix*. Having made a survey of the military situation of France, he suggested that the *Comité* desired a corps of 100,000 men, who would not be assembled at all times in peace, but who would be ready in event of war. This auxiliary force was thus thought essential by the *Comité Militaire* in its plan for an adequate military force.

During 1790 two new laws provided definitely for the organization of the National Guards. The law of June 12 set forth the details of registration for service.<sup>8</sup> It provided (1) that registration should be effected within one month from the publication of the decree; (2) that all active citizens who wished to preserve their rights as such, as well as their "children" over eighteen, should register in their places of residence; (3) that no citizen should bear arms unless registered as a *Garde*; (4) that all corps of bourgeois militia should be incorporated in the *Garde* under the uniform of the nation, but should retain their own officers and staff. In order to hasten this incorporation, the decree of June 24, provided for the execution of the law of June 12.

The constitutional authority for the organization of the National Guards reposed in the *Constitution Militaire* of February 28, 1790, and the law of December 6, 1790. As the chief purpose of the national force, the second article of the Constitution stated, "The army is essentially destined to fight the enemies of the Fatherland."<sup>9</sup> This instrument, however, was concerned with the establishing of the regular army, and made no provision for an auxiliary force. To make adequate provisions for such a reserve, the National Assembly passed the constitutional act of December 6, for the public force of the

<sup>6</sup> In a study of the *cahiers de doléances*, the writer found that all three estates made cardinal recommendations on the reform of the old army.

<sup>7</sup> M. de Bouthillier, *Report fait à l'assemblée nationale au nom du Comité Militaire, par M. Charles Leon Le Marquis de Bouthillier, de Beaujeu, à la séance du 20 janvier 1790* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1790), *passim*. This pamphlet presents the detailed and final plan of the *Comité*, which resulted in the *Constitution Militaire* of February 28, 1790.

<sup>8</sup> *Procès-verbal*, 12 juin 1790.

<sup>9</sup> Faustin Hélie, *op. cit.*, p. 103.



nation.<sup>10</sup> In its elaboration of the duties of the citizen, it made specific provision for the setting up of the *Gardes Nationales* as a distinct component of the army. In accordance with its essential theory the active population of France was subject constitutionally to a call for participation in "the defense of liberty and the Fatherland."<sup>11</sup> Under this principle, the National Guards could be called to the defense of the state at the crucial hour on June 21, 1791.<sup>12</sup>

In 1791 the National Assembly again turned its attention to the creation of an effective reserve. The decree of January 28, provided for the raising of 100,000 auxiliary troops as a means of security for the state.<sup>13</sup> The National Assembly, having heard the reports of the *Comité Militaire*, the *Comité Diplomatique*, and the *Comité des Recherches* "on the means of assuring the external and internal security of the Kingdom", decreed: (1) that the King order and hasten the formation of the army; (2) that he provide an auxiliary force of 100,000 men; (3) that these auxiliaries be engaged for a term of three years; (4) that they be chosen from those between the ages of eighteen and forty; (5) that they receive three *sols* a day; and (6) that the municipalities be in charge.

The personnel of the auxiliary army was to be enlisted by an *engagement de soldat auxiliaire*. In effect, the *auxilaire* did not agree to leave his *foyers*, unless the circumstances demanded his service for the *defense de la patrie et de la liberte*. He enjoyed the full rights of active citizen during his term of service. This force was designed as the army of reserve in the event of war.

The decree of June 11-12 urged the King to bring the regiments designated for the frontier to a war footing.<sup>14</sup> This law provided for "*une conscription libre des Gardes Nationales de bonne volonté*", in each department on the following bases: (1) each district should furnish one volunteer for each twenty National Guards; (2) the Directories of each department should supervise the final choice of men; (3) they should be assembled at the order of the King, and paid at the expense of the state; (4) this *levée* should be organized into battalions of nine companies, with a total of 574 men; (5) the officers and non-commissioned officers should be selected by the men; (6) the registers should be open in each district for the inscription of names; (7) the equipment and armament should be left with the communes contributing to their support. In reality, the proposed *Vol-*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 192-193.

<sup>11</sup> Historically the prerogatives of the king and the new government were not formally outlined until Louis XVI's acceptance of the new Constitution, "The Constitution of 1791", on September 14 of the same year.

<sup>12</sup> The date of the flight of the king from Paris to Varennes.

<sup>13</sup> *Procès-verbal*, 28 janvier 1791.

<sup>14</sup> *Procès-verbal*, 11-12 juin 1791.



*ontaires* were to be a corps chosen by lot from the National Guards at the ratio of one to twenty and were to be mobilized when the needs of the state demand it, by the orders of the King. The King, however, was absent on June 21, when the *National Guards* were called into activity by decree of the national legislature.

Although the name *Volontaires* has been applied to this auxiliary army by competent French authorities,<sup>15</sup> we should like to call attention to the evidence that the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies did not employ this terminology in the enactment of laws for the definite mobilization, organization, command, and administration of this force. From a close search of the *procès-verbaux*, we are in position to present these conclusions: (1) The term *Volontaires* appeared only in the decree of June 11-12, 1791; (2) the flight of the King on June 20-21 made it impossible for the *Volontaires* to be called into activity "*après les ordres du Roi*"; (3) the decree of June 21 was specific, and made no reference to previous legislation, when it provided for the mobilization of *la Garde Nationale du royaume*; (4) the law stipulated the manner in which the National Guards should be enrolled in each municipality; (5) the decree of July 4, set the quotas without any reference to previous legislation; (6) the decree of July 22 provided that the number of National Guards should be increased to 97,000 men; (7) the *cardinal decree* of July 27-28 made very detailed provision *sur l'organisation des Gardes Nationales*; (8) the decree of August 17, declared that the number of National Guards should be increased to 101,000 men; (9) the decree of the Legislative Assembly of December 28, provided for the formation, organization, and pay of the *Gardes Nationales*. During the interval between June 21 and September 14, 1791, France possessed a form of republican government that might well be termed the first actual republic. That government determined the size of the *Gardes Nationales* and made the plans for their organization and mobilization.

With respect to the flight of the King, the official minutes of the Assembly stated: "The departure of the King is a frightful event for all Frenchmen; but, if the King abandoned his post, the National Assembly will conserve its own."<sup>16</sup> This political demise of the monarch accelerated the plans for the mobilization of the auxiliary forces of the nation. During his absence, the Assembly requested the Minister of Foreign Affairs<sup>17</sup> to express to the foreign envoys resident at Paris and to the envoys of France in other countries the desire of France to retain her peaceful relations. By diplomatic maneuvers and

<sup>15</sup> E. Déprez, *Les Volontaires nationaux* (1791-1793)-(Paris: Chapelot, 1908) and C. Rousset, *Les Volontaires* (1791-1794)-(Paris: Didier, 1882).

<sup>16</sup> *Procès-verbal*, 21 juin 1791.

<sup>17</sup> *Comte de Montmorin*, July 15, 1789—November 27, 1791.



by strengthening her national force, France was making plans to maintain her territorial integrity and *status quo*.

Upon the recommendation of M. Alexander Lameth,<sup>18</sup> the National Assembly decreed on June 24, 1791: (1) the *commissaires civils*, employed in the frontier departments should cooperate with the military service; (2) the National Guards shall pass under the orders of the generals and shall serve in the same manner as the regulars; (3) the generals shall have additional authority to apply the provisions of this decree; (4) these generals shall have the right to suspend provisionally all officers of whatever grade whose conduct may be suspected, with the limitation that a report be made to the Minister of War;<sup>19</sup> (5) the National Assembly shall authorize the *généraux de l'armée* to propose the names of the citizens best qualified to fill the rank of second lieutenant with the restriction that half of these appointments shall go to the non-commissioned officers of the corps.<sup>20</sup> Thus the departmental battalions, which had been organized under the general supervision of the Minister of Interior,<sup>21</sup> passed to the general rules and regulations of the regular establishment on the recommendations of the civilian inspectors.

The law, however, did not provide sufficient security for the defense of France. Therefore, the decree of July 3, made additional specifications of "the means of completing the defense of the frontiers."<sup>22</sup> By this act, the number of Guards was increased to 28,000 men, of whom 8,000 were allocated to the Somme; 10,000 to the frontiers of the Ardennes, the Meuse, and the Moselle; and 8,000 to the Rhine, furnished by Jura, Haute-Saône, Vosges, and Doubs. This law provided also that the Minister of War should designate the number of National Guards that should be furnished by each department.

Including the 25,000 men already called into activity, the Assembly decreed on July 22, that the total of the National Guards should be brought to 97,000 men in order to assure the security of the state along the northern frontiers. This law set up fifteen divisions and allocated the men to each.<sup>23</sup> The strategic scheme afforded a reserve of 15,000 men as a general security for the capital of France, which had long been an accepted principle of the High Command of the French army. At the same time, this reserve was so placed as to provide a ready support for the army along the frontiers as the nucleus of the future corps which might be called to guarantee the territorial in-

<sup>18</sup> Appointed on *Comité Militaire*, April, 1790.

<sup>19</sup> N. du Portail, November 15, 1790—December 5, 1791.

<sup>20</sup> *Moniteur* (Paris, 1789-1799), 25 juin 1791.

<sup>21</sup> M. de Lessart, January 25-November 29, 1791.

<sup>22</sup> *Procès-verbal*, 3 juillet 1791.

<sup>23</sup> *Journal Militaire*, 1791, p. 691; *Moniteur*, 22 juillet 1791.



tegrity of France. On August 1, Marchal Rochambeau set up an entrenched camp at Maubeuge for the point of assembly of 12,000 to 15,000 National Guards, who would be assigned to the defense of the sector between Bitch and Belfort. By the law of August 17, the number of National Guards, assembled or to be assembled, was increased to 101,000 men.<sup>24</sup>

The decree of July 27-28, provided the essential details for the organization of the National Guards.<sup>25</sup> A résumé of this basic law is essential to an understanding of the organization, administration, functions, and relations of this component of the army.

Although this law reiterated some of the essential ideas of the decree of June 21, it entered into a much more comprehensive and detailed explanation of the methods and means for completing the organization of the National Guards. It provided, as did the law of June 21, that all active citizens, both French and naturalized, and the sons over eighteen should enroll their names on the municipal register. Failure to comply would lead to the denial of certain rights: as for the active citizens, it deprived them of the rights of citizenship; as for the sons, it postponed their admission to the civic inscription from twenty-one to twenty-three years of age. The law provided that all sons of active citizens should enjoy the full privileges of active citizenship at the end of ten years.

The law further provided that registration should be made in duplicate, so that one copy could be sent to the Departmental Directory for its essential record. In order to assure the fidelity of this component of the army, the decree provided that all members who were recruited during the year should be required to take the oath of the following July 14. Those who had lost the right of activity were required to pay a tax equal to two days' labor for the replacement of someone else. No one was exempt from registration for service with the National Guards. Legislators, ministers of the King, *commissaires* of the King, judges of commercial tribunals, justices of the peace, presidents of administration, vice-presidents and presidents of the Directories, *procureur-syndics* (public prosecutors) of the commune, municipal officers and their substitutes were not required to serve in person; but those who were paid by the state were subject to replacement or to a tax.

The National Guards were organized by districts and cantons, not by communes and departments. To facilitate their formation, sections of the cities were considered cantons; and cities over 50,000, districts. On a basis of population, units would be allocated to the various cantons by the civil and military authorities. Ordinarily the

<sup>24</sup> *Procès-verbal*, 17 août 1791.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 27-28 juillet 1791.



personnel of these organizations conformed to the following specifications: the battalions were composed of from six to ten companies, each company of fifty-three men commanded by a captain, assisted by a lieutenant and two second lieutenants.

In the district, the union of several battalions formed the typical French *Légion* of eight to ten battalions. The commanding officer of the *Légion*, who was selected by the officers of the various battalions, was known under the title of *Chéf de Légion*, and held office for three months.

In keeping with the rising tide of democracy the officers and non-commissioned officers of the units were elective. The enlisted personnel of the companies selected their officers for the period of one year, at the end of which time they might be re-elected. In like manner, they selected the sergeants and the corporals. The battalion commander, the *commandant en chéf*, was selected by the captains, the lieutenants, the second lieutenants, and the sergeants.

Precedence of the units and their officers was determined by lot. Rank in all organizations was to be determined annually. In military manner, the relative grades of officers determined the nature of the command to which they were assigned in the organization of the companies and the battalions of the National Guards.

Discipline was under the general supervision of the commander of each unit. In each battalion there was a *conseil de discipline*, composed of the *commandant en chéf*, the two senior captains, the two senior sergeants and the four senior privates of each company. It was assembled at the call of the *commandant*, who presided and presented the matters of internal discipline for consideration and action. This was the only deliberative body that was permitted within the National Guards.

In order to harmonize the decree of June 21 and 28, M. Jacques Menou presented a plan for the *Organization de la Garde Nationale*, August 3, 1791. This proposal resulted in the decree of August 4, which regulated the formation of the battalions destined for the defense of the frontiers.<sup>26</sup> According to its stipulations, the *Commisaires des Départements* were charged with the distribution of the battalions of 588 men, composed of eight companies of seventy-one men each. The Departmental inspector selected from each company eight of the tallest men to form the company of *Grenadiers* of sixty-four men; the other companies then consisted of sixty-three riflemen. With a staff of two lieutenant colonels, one adjutant-major, one quartermaster, and one armorer, the battalion reached a total of 574 officers and men. Each battalion had its departmental flag and bat-

<sup>26</sup> *Procès-verbal*, 4 août 1791.



tion number. The battalion selected its officers and non-commissioned officers as prescribed in the decree of June 27.

The declaration of Pillnitz caused the Assembly to take other measures for the preparation of the *Gardes*. Many of the men were not financially able to provide themselves with the required personal equipment for service. As a result, the decree of September 4, provided that "The Minister of War should make necessary advances to the departments to meet these demands."<sup>27</sup>

With respect to the mobilization of the National Guards, the Constituent Assembly passed its last decree on August 17, 1791. In the preparation of the *Gardes* for active service, the Legislative Assembly formulated its own sentiment in the law of December 2, 1791.<sup>28</sup> This organic law provided for the formation, organization, and pay of the *Gardes Nationales*. (In order to be well informed on the very latest regulation, the Commanding Generals of the Military Divisions must have availed themselves of a staff of experts.) This decree, however, set forth an elaborate plan of organization and administration.

According to this decree, the formation of the battalions was to be under the general supervision and direction of the departmental inspector. On the call into activity, all men were to report to these inspectors for assignment to organizations. As soon as the battalions had been completed, the inspectors were required to report to the *commissaires des guerres* the date at which the departmental battalions would be formally mustered into service as complete units.<sup>29</sup> After this step in mobilization had been effected, the oath of September 17, 1791 was to be administered to the personnel of the organization.<sup>30</sup>

The law contained one feature that proved a great handicap in active campaigning. It specified that any citizen should be able to "take leave" at the end of each campaign by giving his captain two months' notice. Without considering the demands of actual warfare, the decree stated that the campaign should end on December 1 of each year. This rule led to a further depletion of the ranks of the National Guards at a moment when they were most essential to the defense of the state.

The actual administration of the departmental battalions was effected by a *conseil d'administration* in each battalion, composed of two lieutenant colonels, an officer and a non-commissioned officer of each rank, an adjutant-major, and four enlisted men. It was charged

<sup>27</sup> *Procès-verbal*, 4 septembre 1891.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 décembre 1791.

<sup>29</sup> *Journal Militaire*, 25 mars 1792.

<sup>30</sup> *Archives Parlementaires*, XXX, 755, gives the *Serment* of September, 1791.



with the supervision of the dress, arms, and general equipment and supply of the battalion.

On reporting to the concentration camps, the *Gardes* received full equipment for active campaign. In the case of their equipment being old and unserviceable, it was replaced by new throughout. The members of the organization were held responsible for the care of all arms and equipment, and they were required to turn in everything at the end of the period of active duty.

The Legislative Assembly was vitally interested in the completion of the mobilization of the National Guards. In conformity with this urge, the decree requested the executive power to give orders necessary to have all ready by February 1, 1792. This action, however, did not actually hasten the organization of the total possible effectives of this component of the army.<sup>31</sup>

The question of the command of the National Guards had provoked much discussion in the legislature. This decree provided that the National Guards stationed with the Regulars should be under the command of regular officers; that when they were located as separate battalions, the commanding generals should designate their commanders. For this assignment, they ordinarily designated the *Garde* officer of the highest rank; if they were of equal rank, they designated the command to the officer of the regular establishment, a policy which is followed consistently by the leading military staffs of the present.

By January 1, 1792, the general plans for the organization of the National Guards had been completely formulated; the Guards had become a part of the public force of the nation facing the impending crisis. To prevent complete amalgamation with the regular establishment the decree of January 22, 1792, provided that "the regular army cannot be recruited from those battalions on active duty."<sup>32</sup> From that time, the decrees and laws regulated special points: the system of retirement, the inclusion of companies of infantry in these battalions,<sup>33</sup> the regulation on *canoniers* and sappers attached to the battalions with two pieces of artillery,<sup>34</sup> and other essential regulations for equipment for active campaign. In addition, the *circulaires* of the Minister of War to the Commanding Generals of the Military

<sup>31</sup> *Journal Militaire*, 15 janvier 1792, gives that famous war document—"Rapport de M. de Narbonne, Minister de la Guerre, 11 janvier 1792", which attempted to show that France was not only ready but actually well prepared for war. Being under the influence of the bellicose Girondins, the Legislative Assembly quite naturally wanted war. The mobilization of the National Guards was essential to their plans for victory with the enemy. Narbonne was Minister of War, December 6, 1791-March 9, 1792.

<sup>32</sup> *Procès-verbal*, 10 février 1792.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 11 février 1792.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 29 mars 1792.



Divisions, to the *commissaires ordinateurs des guerres*, and to the departmental directories clarified certain questions on which there might arise some doubt: the *circulaire* of February 6, 1792, set forth details for the distribution of arms, the fabrication of sabres, the pay, the clothing, and the lodging in the national buildings of the National Guards.<sup>35</sup> With the declaration of war on April 20, 1792, came a significant decree increasing the pay "*des gens de guerre*".<sup>36</sup> By it the stipulations of the laws of February 17 and 27, which had provided for an increase of pay for Regulars, were extended to these members of the National Guards that were prepared for campaign. In the light of subsequent regulations, circulars, and orders, one may be justified in saying that with the outbreak of war the legislation of the Assembly and all other military laws were applicable to the two components of the French army, the Regulars and the National Guards. In command, equipment, regulations, and administration, there was only one *Grande Armée Française*. The old military establishment had been transformed and transmuted into the Revolutionary force that was to play the leading rôle in the subsequent history of Europe through its propagation of the ideals of "liberty, fraternity, and equality" on the famous battlefields of the Continent.

<sup>35</sup> E. Déprez. *op. cit.*, p. 20, gives the *circulaire*, which, in actuality, corresponds to American General Orders of Army.

<sup>36</sup> *Procès-verbal*, 20 avril 1792.



## THE MUD-SILL THEORY IN SOUTH CAROLINA

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By 1830 the South was feeling distinctly apprehensive as to the ultimate fate of its "cherished institution", Negro slavery. The attacks of the abolitionists and the hostile force of public opinion, generated in the industrial areas of the world, caused Southern leaders to abandon their erstwhile apologetic attitude towards slavery and to rally to its defense. In seeking to demonstrate that bond slavery was a beneficent and rational institution, Southerners discovered that they had developed a way of life which they proceeded to invest with a philosophy of civilization. In South Carolina Chancellor William Harper, James H. Hammond, William Gilmore Simms, John C. Calhoun, Thomas Cooper, Edmund Rhett and others elaborated the so-called mud-sill theory of civilization with much show of erudition and logic.

The mud-sill theory postulated that all fruitful civilizations rest on the exploitation of labor.<sup>1</sup> As applied to the South it postulated that the Negroes constituted an inferior race, incapable of rising in the scale of civilization beyond the status of servile laborers. Since the Negro was servile by nature, it was only reasonable and proper, contended the advocates of the mud-sill theory, that he should labor in order to enable the superior Caucasians to enjoy a measurable degree of leisure and wealth for the cultivation of the ripest fruits of civilization. "It is the order of nature and of God", wrote Chancellor Harper, "that the beings of superior faculties should control and dispose of those who are inferior."<sup>2</sup> Where there exist equality in property and social intercourse, according to Harper, "there would be little misery and little happiness—little vice and little eminent virtue—nothing to call forth the highest powers of man—a sort of deadening mediocrity."<sup>3</sup> Without inequalities in society, therefore, civilization would never rise to great conquests and triumphs. The South was fortunate in that it had a civilization based on those necessary inequalities which arise from racial differences. Alongside the superior white race there existed an inferior black race, marked by nature for servile tasks—a race whose labor would release the energies of the more intelligent and capable white race for productive employment

<sup>1</sup> Vernon L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought* (3 vols. New York, 1927-1930), II, 100.

<sup>2</sup> William Harper, *Memoir on Slavery* (Charleston, 1838), p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.



in the fields of literature, statescraft and invention. To quote Edmund Rhett:

We have a system which enables us to reap the fruits of the earth by a race which we save from barbarism in restoring them [the blacks] to their real place in the world as laborers, whilst we are enabled to cultivate the arts, the graces, and the accomplishments of life, to develop science, to apply ourselves to the duties of government, and to understand the affairs of the country.<sup>4</sup>

To be sure, the fundamental idea of the mud-sill theory was not original with Southern philosophers. It had been expounded by both the Greeks and the Romans. Southerners expanded and gave local applications to age-old theories. This circumstance should not, however, give currency to the view held by Parrington that the objective of Southern planters was "the alien ideal of a Greek democracy."<sup>5</sup> While there were certain obvious parallels between the civilization of the ancient Greeks and the plantation civilization of the South, it seems to be true that the South Carolinians thought of themselves not as the heirs of the Greeks, but rather as the cultural heirs of the English.<sup>6</sup> South Carolinians, like the Greeks, made a fundamental distinction between freemen and slaves; and the aristocrats of Carolina, like the freemen of Greece, evinced a flair for war, politics, public speaking and conversation. On the other hand, the Greeks, notably the Athenians, encouraged a greater degree of intellectual freedom and speculation; they engaged extensively in commerce; and regarded marriage, not as a romantic mating, but rather as a means of producing healthy children. The wife, instead of being "the uncrowned queen" of the home, was a mere household drudge.<sup>7</sup>

Despite the fact that England was rapidly becoming industrialized, while South Carolina and the South remained agricultural, South Carolinians cherished the old English tradition that social standing depended in large measure upon the possession of landed estates. The planting gentry of South Carolina shared the aristocratic Englishman's aversion for trade and traffic. On their estates South Carolinians dispensed hospitality in true English style; their sports were English, their vices English and their institutions English.<sup>8</sup> Sons of Carolina planters had gone in large numbers to the Inns of Court in

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in W. H. Russell, *My Diary North and South* (Boston, 1863), p. 148.

<sup>5</sup> *Main Currents in American Thought*, II, 108.

<sup>6</sup> Hugh S. Legare, a traveler and a distinguished scholar, thought that Charleston was more English than any other city in the United States—*Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> G. Lowes Dickinson, *The Greek View of Life* (New York, 1925), p. 71 ff.

<sup>8</sup> There is very little basis for a comparison of the government of the Greeks and the government of South Carolina, as the Greeks were not familiar with the principle of representative government.



London for legal training<sup>9</sup> and there imbibed English ideals and viewpoints. Local conditions in many instances doubtless were responsible for the development of habits and attitudes erroneously ascribed to remote controls. The Greek influence was traceable, but it proceeded from an inanimate source, whereas the English influence was animate, direct and more decisive.<sup>10</sup>

Advocates of the mud-sill theory staked the validity of the theory on the thesis that the Negro is an inferior person, incapable of appreciable improvement. Not only did the mud-sill theory rest upon the assumption that the Negro is an inferior being, but the whole system of bond slavery was based on the same assumption. Practically all Southern writers on the subject of bond slavery accepted without reservation the prevalent notion that the sons of Ham labored under an ancient curse which rendered them fit only for menial and sordid tasks. Dr. Thomas Cooper voiced the sentiments of South Carolinians and Southerners generally when he wrote: "I do not say that the blacks are a distinct species; but I have not the slightest doubt of their being an inferior variety of the human species; and not capable of the same improvement as the whites."<sup>11</sup> A correspondent of the *Charleston Daily Courier* in dilating upon the limitations of the Negro, asserted that the Caucasian race ranked first in point of intellect and energy, the Asiatics next, the Red Man third and lastly the Negro.<sup>12</sup> He then proceeded to analyze the Negro in detail:

. . . a race whose history, habits, and mental and bodily conformation indicate a class of a low order, capable of little improvement save by a very laborious process, but admirably adapted to a state of subordination to superior intelligence. . . . Loving bodily ease and sensual enjoyment, all efforts to cultivate their intellect above a very low point, as a general rule, fail.<sup>13</sup>

The same author demonstrated by citing historical examples (*e. g.* San Domingo) that the Negro was totally unfit for self-government and would thrive only when placed in a position of subordination to a superior.

They are docile, gentle under good treatment, capable of strong but superficial affections, incapable of deep thought, improvident and hating labor; vain, frivolous, apish and imitative; slow to learn where thought is necessary, bestial in their desires; but cheerful and happy with light work and sufficient food to meet their slightest wants.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> J. G. deR. Hamilton, "Southern Members of the Inns of Court", *North Carolina Historical Review*, Oct., 1933, pp. 279-280.

<sup>10</sup> For a good picture of English society in the eighteenth century, consult J. B. Botsford, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1924).

<sup>11</sup> Dr. Thomas Cooper to Mahlon Dickerson, Mar. 16, 1826 (*American Historical Review*, VI, 729).

<sup>12</sup> *Charleston Daily Courier*, June 27, 1855.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*



Ignoring Jefferson's dogma that "all men are created equal", the philosophers and their satellites proved to their own satisfaction on both scriptural and physiological grounds the inferiority of the Negro. It was pointed out that the sons of Ham were accursed and that as a mark of the Lord's disfavor they were eternally condemned to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water." The twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus, which sanctioned the purchase of "bondsmen forever" together with Paul's letter to Philemon were frequently cited to buttress the argument for the mud-sill theory.<sup>15</sup>

By far the stronger argument for the inferiority of the Negro was adduced on physiological grounds. It was alleged by Dr. S. A. Cartwright of New Orleans that a study of the comparative anatomy of the blacks and whites would leave no doubt as to the political status of the Negro. Dr. Cartwright stated in defense of his thesis that a Negro's bones are "whiter and harder", that his head is hung on the atlas differently, that his neck is shorter and less oblique. Other peculiar features noted were "bowed" legs, projecting mouth, receding forehead, flat nose, thick lips and a brain a ninth or tenth smaller than in other races.<sup>16</sup> Dr. Cartwright next called attention to the fact that a Negro has wool on his head and emits an obnoxious odor when heated. These physical characteristics, it was alleged, indicated muscular rather than mental power.<sup>17</sup> The Negro by reason of thickness of skull and pigmentation, was little susceptible to the heat of the Southern midday sun, and therefore adapted by nature for laboring in the heat of the cotton and rice fields where a white person would succumb.<sup>18</sup> A good summation of the entire matter was given by Dr. Cartwright when he declared that the Negro by reason of his lower mental condition "should serve the white man and the white man should take care of the Negro."<sup>19</sup>

To further strengthen the case for the mud-sill theory, Southerners endeavored to prove that the Negro was more favorably situated as a bondsman than as a free person. No one could deny that during centuries of occupation of Africa, the Negro had not risen above the tribal stage. In a state of contact with and subordination to the white

<sup>15</sup> A defense of slavery on scriptural grounds is ably presented by Thornton Stringfellow in *Cotton Is King and Pro-Slavery Arguments* (Augusta, 1860), pp. 461-546. See also *De Bow's Commercial Review* (New Orleans), March, 1850, for Governor Hammond's views on scriptural aspects of slavery.

<sup>16</sup> *De Bow's Review of the Southern and Western States* (New Orleans), July, 1851.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Rupert Vance in his notable book, *Human Geography of the South* (Chapel Hill, 1932), p. 365, discounts the idea that white men could not endure the heat of the rice and cotton fields.

<sup>19</sup> J. D. B. De Bow, *Industrial Resources, Statistics, etc., of the United States and More Particularly of the Southern and Western States* (3 vols. New York, 1854), III, 61.



race, however, the Negro had made some adaptations to the white man's civilization and was undoubtedly more comfortable and secure. "Sickness need not frighten nor old age awe."<sup>20</sup> What more could a servile and ignoble race require than religious instruction, adequate food, shelter and clothing, and insurance against unemployment, sickness, old age and accidents? For providing these comforts and safeguards, the slaveowners were compensated in the appropriation of the persons and labor of the slaves. The benefits were mutual, the interests of society well-served and the order of nature fulfilled. A slaveowner wrote in all sincerity: "If I in my present state were told that in a week's time, I should be physically, morally, and intellectually like my slave and must now determine my status when reduced to this level, I should deliberately say, 'put me in his present position'."<sup>21</sup>

Finally, it was held that a country with slave labor could, like Sparta of old, exert more force in time of war than a free labor country. While the freemen fought, the slaves would cultivate the fields, thus insuring an uninterrupted supply of food for soldiers and civilians.<sup>22</sup>

Let us next consider some of the fruits of the plantation civilization with its mud-sill in order that we may determine in some measure whether the hopes and expectations of its defenders were realized.

It was commonly held that the delegation of authority by planter-masters to overseers to supervise routine plantation affairs afforded the planter-master leisure for other pursuits. What pursuits? Was the Southern gentleman altogether immersed in muster and drills, politics, hunting, racing, eating and drinking? Were Southern ladies altogether immersed in novel reading and in the writing of idyllic and melancholy verse? It is true that most Southern gentlemen experienced more pleasure in foxhunting, horseracing and dinner parties than in the pursuit of the creative arts and sciences. It is also true that the generality of the ladies of quality paid more attention to teas, balls and novel-reading than to musical or literary composition. This is not at all surprising and is not *per se* sufficient to condemn the plantation civilization of South Carolina and of the Old South. The mud-sill theorists did not contemplate the devotion of all leisure derived from the delegation of authority to exploration in the field of the creative arts. They did contemplate, however, a superstructure of men and women, favored by circumstance of birth and station, who would adorn society and contribute to the sum of human knowledge and happiness. Considering the time allowed for testing the plantation civilization and considering the environment in which it was

<sup>20</sup> "The Creed of a Slaveholder" in the *Courier*, June 27, 1855.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *The Pro-Slavery Argument* (Charleston, 1852), p. 110.



tested, did the upper stratum of society make a contribution to human knowledge and enjoyment commensurate with the opportunity afforded? The question cannot be answered categorically.

F. L. Olmsted, hostile to slavery and critical of the mud-sill theory, conceded that "educated South Carolinians perhaps more than any other people in the United States possessed mental refinement and social graces to an unusual degree."<sup>23</sup> He observed, however, that learning was esteemed more for its ornamental and social value than for practical purposes. South Carolinians were willing to admit that they had not made the most of the opportunities which their leisure and means for intellectual pursuits afforded. The Reverend Iveson Brooks confessed truthfully: "We have lived too much at ease and have not exerted to the extent of our ability the opportunities afforded by the culture, the genius and talents which God and our climate and civilization have given us."<sup>24</sup> He opined that the South had been too much engrossed with the growing of cotton and with agricultural pursuits generally to produce a great literature or to advance the cause of science. He observed rightly that the South had produced distinguished soldiers, statesmen, orators, jurists and diplomats, but had lagged behind the North in literature and invention.<sup>25</sup>

We are obliged to recognize the force of this indictment; yet it need not preclude a glance at the literary output of ante-bellum South Carolina. With a few exceptions, the sons and daughters of planters were not engrossed with strictly literary pursuits; neither did they support generously the literary efforts of native sons. The literary group in Charleston,<sup>26</sup> headed by William Gilmore Simms, lived in comparative neglect, contributing to short-lived periodicals and doing hack-work to keep the proverbial wolf at a comfortable distance.

The poets of South Carolina, responsive to English literary standards, displayed little originality in form or substance. What they wrote was alien to both the soil and the people.<sup>27</sup> One might easily gather the impression that most of the poets lived in isolation with minds suffused with thoughts of death and immortality. Current periodicals published poems dealing with such melancholy themes as unrequited love and untimely death. Familiar titles for such effusions were "Breathings of the Melancholy Mind" and "The Voice of Soli-

<sup>23</sup> F. L. Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (New York and London, 1856), p. 501. Limitations of space forbid further citations from the works of eminent travelers in the South in support of Olmsted's observation. Consult Henry Adams, *History of the United States* (9 vols., New York, 1889-1891), I, 149, for the viewpoint of a Northern historian.

<sup>24</sup> Iveson S. Brooks, *Defense of the South against the Reproaches of the North* (Hamburg, 1850), p. 30.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>26</sup> This group included Henry Timrod and Paul Hamilton Hayne.

<sup>27</sup> *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (3 vols., New York, 1933), II, 289.



tude." A few poets, however, rose above the commonplace to contribute verse which will endure as long as lyric poetry is esteemed. In "The Cotton Boll", Henry Timrod sounded a new note in that it is almost the first Southern poem of local color.<sup>28</sup>

Prose writers reflected the classical influence of Greece and Rome reenforced by such English stylists as Macaulay and Gibbon. A few of the prose writers like William Gilmore Simms, who wrote romances of Indian warfare, and Dr. John Irving, author of *A Day on the Cooper River*, actually attempted to describe the life of the people. William Henry Trescott, the diplomat, and Hugh Swinton Legare, "the Charleston Intellectual", were stylists of distinction. Legare's writings reveal such a wealth of classical learning as to cause Parrington to pronounce him one of the most widely-read men in America.<sup>29</sup> John C. Calhoun, in some respects a product of the plantation civilization of South Carolina, produced treatises on political science which rank among the best works of their kind brought forth in North America. In the field of polemics of slavery, James H. Hammond's elaboration of the mud-sill theory of civilization is unequalled.<sup>30</sup>

In conversation the cultivated South Carolinian was very effective. Perhaps, in no other part of the Union could an anecdote be told with more gusto and irresistible charm. Conversation might be punctuated here and there with expletives, but the general effect was intoxicating. The facile conversationalist, however, on taking pen in hand for formal composition affected a different style. Instead of the racy conversational style of the drawing room, he would resort to the ornate, pedantic manner deemed appropriate for men of letters. Hence the disparity in South Carolina between the spoken and the written word.

More immediately products of the plantation civilization were South Carolina orators. Sons of the gentry were encouraged to cultivate the forensic arts as essential preparation for participation in public life. Training in oratory began in the academy and was continued in college, where young men contended for coveted prizes in oratory and declamation. Young orators took for their models Burke and Cicero and assiduously cultivated their style. Fourth of July celebrations, frequent political meetings and school commencements afforded the orator ample opportunity for the exercise of his talent. Throughout the State, the orator with his dramatic gestures and beautifully rounded periods stirred emotions in the rank and file of

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 293.

<sup>29</sup> Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought*, II, 115. For an appraisal of Legare's style consult *The Rambler*, Nov. 9, 1843.

<sup>30</sup> W. S. Jenkins, *Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South* (Chapel Hill, 1935), p. 287.



the people. Nowhere in the Union was the influence of the orator more potent and nowhere was the urge to excel in eloquence more compelling. Dr. H. H. Townes, in writing to his kinsman, S. A. Townes, regarding a forthcoming Fourth of July oration, remarked:

The public expects great things of you on the Fourth. You can write a good speech and you must practice it so you can speak it well. . . . Seriously, I do think you have a great deal at stake in the coming speech. You will establish for yourself a good or bad standing which years cannot change. All that you will have to labor for will be to speak eloquently. Let me beg of you to spare no pains to do this.<sup>31</sup>

The best orators, such as Robert Y. Hayne, W. C. Preston, William Crafts and Hugh S. Legare, rose above platitudes and encomiums; in a style which compared favorably with that of celebrated English orators, they illuminated their themes with a wealth of learning and logic, demonstrating a comprehensive knowledge of historical backgrounds to a degree rarely encountered today.

In some measure, the government of South Carolina was a product aristocracy, but the government as well was controlled by the same social class. The redistribution of seats in the General Assembly in of the plantation civilization. Not only was society dominated by the 1808 by which the up-country obtained a numerical majority in the House of Representatives, while the low-country retained a majority in the Senate,<sup>32</sup> in no wise changed the essential character of the government. As further evidence of the aristocratic character of the government, it should be noted that the governor, United States senators, the tax collectors and many other officers were chosen by the Legislature.<sup>33</sup> In this period of aristocratic control, the government was, in the main, honestly and conservatively administered by men motivated by a high sense of public service.

To call the roll of distinguished South Carolinians would give rise to invidious distinctions without proving the soundness or unsoundness of the mud-sill theory. Suffice it to say that South Carolina produced more than her quota of eminent lawyers, jurists, orators, statesmen and military men. Her offerings in other fields were scattered. Of one thing we are certain, there did appear in South Carolina successive generations of cultivated and high-minded men and women. Was this due to a caprice of nature or to social forces generated by a way of life? It is, of course, impossible to measure exactly the factors responsible for intellectual achievement in any given pe-

<sup>31</sup> Dr. H. H. Townes to Samuel A. Townes, May 20, 1832. MS. in Towns Correspondence in possession of Mr. Harry L. Watson, Greenwood, S. C.

<sup>32</sup> D. D. Wallace, "The Constitution of 1790 in South Carolina's Development" in Yates Snowden, *History of South Carolina* (5 vols., Chicago and New York, 1920), I, 506.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*



riod; neither can anyone indicate with assurance what type of citizen would have appeared in South Carolina in the absence of slavery. We are here concerned with the more obvious fruits of the plantation civilization. We may, I think, reasonably eliminate the element of chance and assume that the ante-bellum social order was productive of virile minds and personalities, of intellectual achievements and of a refined and elegant mode of living. These impressive results would seem to justify, in some measure, the way of life sustained by the mud-sill.

The benefits, however, of the plantation civilization were not widely distributed. The planting gentry and the professional classes reaped the major benefits, while the poor whites and the middle classes suffered handicaps which effectually degraded the former and retarded the vigorous development of the latter.



# “ADDRESSERS OF CLINTON AND ARBUTHNOT”

Edited by ROBERT W. BARNWELL, JR.

Comparison of the list of signers of this address congratulating Clinton and Arbuthnot on the surrender of Charleston in 1780, as printed in the *New-York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* (see PROCEEDINGS, 1936, pp. 7-8), with a photostat of the original in the British Public Record Office reveals so many mistakes of the New York printer that the editors of the PROCEEDINGS have offered to print an edited copy of the photostat. Names are as in the original except for capitalization and abbreviation of junior and senior.

*First column:* John Wragg, William Glen, John Hopton, John Rose, William Greenwood, Jacob Valk, James Cook, Christopher Fitz Simons, John Davies, Benjn. Baker Sener [sic], John Fisher, Chas. Atkins, Gideon Dupont Jr., Jeremiah Savage, Andrew Reid, Zephaniah Kingsley, Alexr. Oliphant, Paul Hamilton, Robert Wilson, Leonard Askew, Andrew Mackenzie, Robert Lithgow, William Wayne.

*Second column:* Jas. Gn. Williams, James Ross, Jno. Moncrieff, Jno. Wells, Jr., Allard Belin, John Wagner, John Ward Taylor [tailor], Joel Holmes, James Megown, Wm. Davie, James Dunning, John Spird [?], Wm. Nicols, John Daniel, John Callum, Jno. Smith, Lewis Dutarque, James McKeown, Wm. Burt, John Watson, Anthy. Montell, James Lynch, George Grant, Abraham Pearce, John Miot, Frederick Augustin, John Webb.

*Third column:* Robert Williams, Alexr. Macbeth, John Robertson, John Liber, Hugh Rose, Patrick Bower, Thos. Tod, Bryan Foskey, James Wright, Thomas Eustace, Emanuel Marshall, Andrew Mitchell, Farqd. McCollme [?], George Adamson, Willm. Valentine, Christopher Willman, D. Pendergrass, Daniel Bell, Edward Hare, Thomas Timms, Thomas Buckle, Sr., Hopkin Prise, George Denholm, Roger Browne, James Strickland, Wm. McKimney, Michel Hubert, David Bruce, Heinrich, Blandenhorn, John Gregg, Thomas Dawson.

*Fourth column:* Thomas Winstanley, Chas. Ramadge, Willm. Bower, Alexr. Walker, John Lyon, Robert Philp, Robert Johnston, David Saylor, John Lahiff, John Gillmoer[?], John Pearson, James Donovan, Jr., Nicholas Boden, James McKenzie, Henry Welsh, Isaac Clark, John Durst, W. Cameron, John Russell, John Bell, John Hays, James Mackie, J. . . . Guilloudeau [?], Charles Bouchonneau, John Bury, Danl. Boyne, Petr. Lambort, Henry Bookless, Wm. Edwards—Sadler, Thomas Buckle, Jr.

*Fifth column:* Henry Ephraim Schultze, John Harth, James Carmichael, Saml. Adams, Christopher Sheets, Alexr. Smith, John McCall, John Abercromby, Joseph Jones, Henry Branton, John Callaghan, John Ralph, Sam Bower, George Yonge, Joseph Milligan, Anthony Gabeau, Willm. Smith, Jas. Robertson, Michael Quinn, John Gourlay [?], Walter Rosewell, Richard Denniss, John Walters Gibbs, Benjamin Tucker, John Bartels, Jerry Dorrel, Wm. Miller, John Burgess, Tho. Hutchinson, Thomas Elfe.

*Sixth column:* Alexr. Harvey, John Pafford, Thos. Phoepe, Saml. Knights, Archd. Carson, Thomas Elliott, Thomas Clary, Thos. Hopper, Charles Snetter, Robert Lindsay, J. Richardson, James Rach, Peter Dumont, T. Saunders, Edward Legge, Jr., Henry Haensdorff, Aaron Loockock, Arch Broun, William Russell, Thomas Coram, James Hartley, Andw. Thomson, Wm. Luyten, Nichs. Smith, Andw. Stewart, Wm. Hardy, Thos. Stewart, Hugh Irwin, Lewis Coffere, Hugh Kirkham.

*Seventh column:* William Farrow, Wm. Ancrum, Thos. Deighton, Robt. Pattison, Jno. Parkinson, John Love, Alexr. Ingles, William Mills, James Duncan, Jas. Blackburen, John Johnson, Samuell Perry, Geo. Robt. Williams, Mathias Hunkine [?], Edmd. Petrie, Wm. Nisbett, Geo. Cooke, Peter Prowe, Gilbert Chalmers, Arthur Downes, Alexr. Johnson, James Fagan, James Bryan, James Courtonne, Joseph Wyatt, John Cuple, James McLenachan, William Jennings [sic], Patrick McCann, Robt. Beard, Stephen Townsend, James Snead.

*Eighth column:* Charles Burnham, Robert McIntosh, John Smyth, Chas. H. Simons, George Thomson, Isaac Lessesne, Isaac Mazyck.



## CONSTITUTION

## I

The name of this organization shall be The South Carolina Historical Association.

## II

The objects of the Association shall be to promote historical studies in the State of South Carolina; to bring about a closer relationship among persons living in this State who are interested in history; and to encourage the preservation of historical records.

## III

Any person approved by the executive committee may become a member by paying \$2.00 and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of \$2.00.

## IV

The officers shall be a president, a vice-president, and a secretary and treasurer who shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting. A list of nominations shall be presented by the executive committee, but nominations from the floor may be made. The officers shall have the duties and perform the functions customarily attached to their respective offices with such others as may from time to time be prescribed.

## V

There shall be an executive committee made up of the officers and of two other members elected by ballot for a term of three years; at the first election, however, one shall be elected for two years. Vacancies shall be filled by election in the same manner at the annual meeting following their occurrence. Until such time they shall be filled by appointment by the president. The duties of the executive committee shall be to fix the date and place of the annual meeting, to attend to the publication of the proceedings of the Association, to prepare a program for the annual meetings, to prepare a list of nominations for the officers of the Association as provided in Article IV, and such other duties as may be from time to time assigned to them by the Association. There shall be such other committees as the president may appoint, or be instructed to appoint, by resolution of the Association.

## VI

There shall be an annual meeting of the Association at the time and place appointed by the executive committee.

## VII

The Association shall publish annually its proceedings to be known as THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. It shall contain the constitution, by-laws, and minutes of the annual meeting together with such papers as may be selected by the executive committee. It is understood that all papers read at the annual meeting become the property of the Association except as otherwise may be provided by the executive committee.

## VIII

This constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present at the annual business meeting.



## MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION

BAKER, MARY NEEL.....	Greenwood, S. C.
<i>Greenwood High School</i>	
BEASON, SARAH.....	Greenville S. C.
<i>Welcome High School</i>	
BARNWELL, ROBERT W., JR.....	Florence, S. C.
BENNETT, MRS. JOHN.....	Charleston, S. C.
BLAKE, EUGENE H.....	Greenwood, S. C.
BONHAM, MILLEDGE LOUIS.....	Clinton, N. Y.
<i>Professor of History, Hamilton College</i>	
BONN, EWING TUCKER.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Associate Professor of History, University of South Carolina</i>	
BOYD, RUTH.....	Greenville, S. C.
<i>Greenville High School</i>	
BROWN, MARSHALL W.....	Clinton, S. C.
<i>Dean and Professor of History, Presbyterian College</i>	
BULL, REV. H. D.....	Georgetown, S. C.
BURNETT, MRS. W. M.....	Greenville, S. C.
<i>Instructor in History, Woman's College of Furman University</i>	
CALLCOTT, W. H.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, University of South Carolina</i>	
CAUTHEN, CHARLES E.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, Columbia College</i>	
CHILDS, MRS. ARNEY R.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Associate Professor of History, University of South Carolina</i>	
CLAYTON, CHRISTINE.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Columbia High School</i>	
COLLINS, MRS. C. C.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Dreher High School</i>	
COPELAND, MRS. RUTH SIMPSON.....	Clinton, S. C.
DAVIDSON, ELIZABETH.....	Hartsville, S. C.
<i>Assistant Professor of History, Coker College</i>	
DAVIS, HENRY CAMPBELL.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Professor of English Language, University of South Carolina</i>	
DAVIS, NORA MARSHALL.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Director of South Carolina Historical Markers Survey</i>	
DERRICK, S. J.....	Newberry, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, Newberry College</i>	
DETREVILLE, CATHERINE.....	Greenville, S. C.
<i>Greenville High School</i>	
DOYLE, OSCAR H.....	Anderson, S. C.
EASTERBY, J. H.....	Charleston, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, College of Charleston</i>	
EPTING, CARL L., JR.....	Clemson College, S. C.
<i>Instructor of History and Government, Clemson College</i>	
FERRELL, C. M.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, University of South Carolina</i>	
GILPATRICK, D. H.....	Greenville, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, Furman University</i>	
GREEN, EDWIN L.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Professor of Ancient Languages, University of South Carolina</i>	
GREGORIE, ANNE KING.....	Columba, S. C.
<i>Director, State Historical Survey</i>	
HALL, ARTHUR R.....	Washington, D. C.



HENNIG, MRS. JULIAN.....	Columbia, S. C.
HOLMES, A. G.....	Clemson College, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, Clemson College</i>	
HUGHES, HORATIO.....	Charleston, S. C.
<i>Professor of Chemistry, College of Charleston</i>	
JONES, F. DUDLEY.....	Clinton, S. C.
<i>Professor of Psychology and Philosophy, Presbyterian College</i>	
KENNEDY, E. FRONDE.....	Spartanburg, S. C.
KIBLER, LILLIAN.....	New York, N. Y.
KING, SUSAN SAVAGE.....	Darlington, S. C.
<i>Darlington High School</i>	
LAWHON, ELEANOR.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Wardlaw Junior High School</i>	
LESESNE, J. M.....	Greenville, S. C.
<i>Greenville High School</i>	
MAGILL, SADIE.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Columbia High School</i>	
MERIWETHER, R. L.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, University of South Carolina</i>	
MILLS, W. H.....	Clemson College, S. C.
<i>Professor of Rural Sociology, Clemson College</i>	
MOORE, J. P.....	Charleston, S. C.
<i>Assistant Professor of History, The Citadel</i>	
MCINTOSH, NANCY.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Columbia High School</i>	
McKISSICK, J. RION.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>President, University of South Carolina</i>	
McMASTER, AGNES RICE.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Taylor School</i>	
OLIPHANT, MRS. A. D.....	Greenville, S. C.
PATTON, JAMES W.....	Spartanburg, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, Converse College</i>	
PEARLSTINE, HANNA.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Columbia High School</i>	
RADFORD, INEZ.....	Greenwood, S. C.
<i>Assistant Professor of History, Lander College</i>	
SISSON, CHARLES N.....	Hartsville, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, Coker College</i>	
SKIPPER, O. C.....	Charleston, S. C.
<i>Assistant Professor of History, The Citadel</i>	
STONE, RICHARD G.....	Spartanburg, S. C.
<i>Associate Professor of Social Science, Converse College</i>	
SURLES, FLORA B.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Supervisor, WPA State-wide Historical Project</i>	
TAYLOR, MARY.....	Charleston, S. C.
<i>Memminger High School</i>	
TAYLOR, ROSSER H.....	Greenville, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, Furman University</i>	
THORNWELL, BELLE GLOVER.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Instructor in History, Columbia College</i>	
TILGHMAN, MRS. H. L.....	Marion, S. C.
TOWNSEND, LEAH.....	Florence, S. C.
WALLACE, D. D.....	Spartanburg, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, Wofford College</i>	
WEBBER, MABEL L.....	Charleston, S. C.
<i>Secretary, South Carolina Historical Society</i>	



WHITE, FANNIE BELLE.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Columbia High School</i>	
WIENEFELD, R. H.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Associate Professor of History, University of South Carolina</i>	
WILCOX, SAMUEL.....	Charleston, S. C.
<i>Assistant Professor of Business Administration, The Citadel</i>	
WILLIAMS, MRS. RICHARD.....	Greenwood, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, Lander College</i>	
WILLIAMS, S. J.....	Charleston, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, The Citadel</i>	
WILLSON, MRS. W. J.....	Reidville, S. C.
WOODY, ROBERT H.....	Durham, N. C.
<i>Assistant Professor of History, Duke University</i>	



# APPENDIX

LETTERS AND PAPERS OF  
GOVERNOR DAVID JOHNSON AND FAMILY  
1810-1855



# THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

## LETTERS AND PAPERS OF GOVERNOR DAVID JOHNSON AND FAMILY, 1810-1855

FLORENCE JOHNSON SCOTT

DAVID JOHNSON, 1782-1855

David Johnson, although a native of Virginia, was a resident of South Carolina for the greater part of his life. He was the second child of Christopher and Elizabeth Dabney Johnson and was born in Louisa County, Virginia, in 1782. When seven years of age, he moved with his parents and little sister, Ann Anderson, to the east side of Broad River, Chester District, South Carolina. Later, two other sons were born to his parents: James Dabney in 1784, and Thomas in 1786.<sup>1</sup>

The Johnson home was a plantation on Broad River, in the northern part of South Carolina, and there they lived until the latter part of the eighteenth century when they moved across the river and settled in Spartanburg District. About 1800, Christopher was ordained a minister in the Baptist church of the state, and served as pastor at the Philadelphia Church at Glenn Springs, a short distance from his first home. It was there that his children grew to maturity and there David, the son, spent his early years.<sup>2</sup>

Since there were few schools in the upper part of the state at that time, young David received his first instruction at home and was later sent to a grammar school in York District, which was under the direction and supervision of the Reverend Joseph Alexander, a Presbyterian clergyman.<sup>3</sup>

From the time that David Johnson was seventeen years old, the education which he received was self-acquired. In 1799 he entered the

<sup>1</sup> This sketch of the life of David Johnson and the group of letters written to his eldest son, Edward Coke Johnson, are taken from a manuscript study compiled in 1934, under the direction of Dr. Charles Ramsdell, Professor of History of the South, University of Texas. Additional letters secured since that date, are herein included.

Credit for the preservation of the entire collection of letters dating from 1790 to 1900 must go to Edward Johnson and to his daughters, Penelope and Octavia Johnson, Plainville, Georgia, and to his son, Ben Herndon Johnson, Dallas, Texas.

The papers with the exception of the plantation rules, the will, the sketch and accompanying letter, referred to in note 11 below, were presented to the South Carolina Collection of the University of South Carolina Library by Florence Johnson Scott, granddaughter of Edward C. Johnson, eldest son of Governor David Johnson.

FLORENCE JOHNSON SCOTT.

Rio Grande City, Texas  
June, 1939.

<sup>2</sup> See references in note 11 below.

<sup>3</sup> T. N. Dawkins, *Eulogy* . . . [of] Hon. David Johnson, at Unionville, S. C., April 28, 1855 (Columbia, 1855), p. 8.



law office of Judge Abraham Nott of Union District, where he continued to read law for four years. Immediately after his admission to the bar in 1803, Judge Nott tendered him a partnership in his law firm, which was accepted. In 1810, at Judge Nott's suggestion, he offered himself as a candidate for the legislature and was elected for a two-year term.<sup>4</sup> Before his term had expired, he was chosen by the legislature Solicitor of the Middle District of South Carolina, later known as the Northern Circuit. With the acceptance of this office he entered upon a legal career for which he apparently was well fitted.

In 1815 he was elected one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas and in 1824, when a reorganization of the courts of South Carolina was made and the Court of Appeals was created, he was selected by the legislature to serve as a member of the Court of Appeals. Eight years later, through the death of one member and the resignation of another, he became the President of the Court and retained this position until the dissolution of that court in 1835.

At the time that the law and equity circuits were necessarily reorganized it fell to the lot of Judge Johnson to be entrusted by the legislature with the duties of Circuit Chancellor and he served as judge in both the Court of Equity and the Court of Appeals. For eleven years he retained this position and resigned to accept the governorship of the state in 1847, having been chosen by the General Assembly without opposition.

During his term of office as governor, South Carolina was called on to furnish a regiment of men to fight in the Mexican War and Governor Johnson, as commander-in-chief of the state, organized the Palmetto Regiment. During his tenure, he considered the practicability of continuing the operation of the Bank of South Carolina, and a number of his messages relate to this subject. It was necessary for him to present the matter of secession during his second year of governorship. Although David Johnson died before secession became a reality, he had been one of the leaders who had molded public opinion for many years with his advocacy of the doctrine of States Rights.

His administration as Governor is notable for his stand on the subject of pardons, to which he was almost invariably opposed. Having served so many years in a judicial capacity, he held the highest respect for the findings of a jury and the sentence of a judge and believed that justice could better be obtained there than in any other way.

After his retirement as governor he was honored by his own townsmen at Union by having a military organization named for him. This was the Johnson Riflemen, and so pleased was the ex-governor at

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.



this compliment that he ordered a special rifle made to present to his company of home guardsmen; the presentation was made a few months before his death by his warm friend, advisor, and neighbor, Col. T. N. Dawkins.

David Johnson lived during an eventful era in the state of South Carolina; he was considered by friend and foe as an independent thinker and participated in some of the decisive activities of his day. Aside from his prominence in the legal profession of the state he was prominently identified in the Masonic Lodge, and was for many years a member of the Union Lodge No. 75 A. F. & A. M.

During a controversy which raged throughout Carolina some time previous to 1817, causing two divisions, one known as "The Grand Lodge of South Carolina" and the other as "The Grand Lodge of Ancient York Masons", committees were appointed on the part of the two lodges to meet and to try to effect a reunion. David Johnson represented the Grand Lodge of South Carolina, and since he was the only man outside the city of Charleston on either committee he was in some degree responsible for suggesting the terms that eventually reunited the two lodges, which was afterward known as the "Grand Lodge of Ancient Free Masons of South Carolina" and of which he later on became Grand Master.<sup>5</sup>

Although David Johnson was a contemporary of John C. Calhoun, both men having been born in the same year and both having received their early experience in politics during the same period, the two men differed radically on the matter of nullification. David Johnson from the beginning of the nullification movement in his state had been ardent in his protest against the nullification of Federal laws; he hoped on the contrary to prove the need for modification, so that the change in tariff laws would be made by Congress.

At the time that the State Convention was held in Columbia for the purpose of nullifying the Tariff Acts, both parties held caucuses in near-by buildings. David Johnson's participation in the formation of the policies of the Union party and the report of his visit to Georgia, are related by Judge B. F. Perry, another prominent Unionist, in a book written many years later :

Judge David Johnson then addressed the caucus, and informed us that he had just returned from the State of Georgia, where he had been sent as a delegate by the Union party. Chancellor Harper was sent as a delegate by the Nullification party. On their arrival in Milledgeville, Judge Johnson addressed a note to the State Convention, which he found in session, and went before them to explain his views and those of his party in South Carolina. He said two-thirds of the people of Georgia were of the Union party. The nullifiers called themselves "Resistance Men," but would not

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.



assume the odious cognomen by which their political brethren in South Carolina were known. They were for a Southern convention.

. . . The Union members held their caucus every night. . . . The subject of the "test oath" in the Ordinance of Nullification was most earnestly discussed. . . . It proposed to swear a Judge to enforce the Ordinance of Nullification before he was allowed to sit on the trial of a case arising under it. Some of the Judges declared they would never take it, and others gave no expression of opinion on the subject. . . . The Ordinance of Nullification was to go into operation in February. The convention then adjourned, hoping and expecting that Congress would make some modification of the Tariff before the day when the ordinance was to go into operation.

Towards the latter part of December, 1832, the Union party of South Carolina met in convention in Columbia during the sitting of the Legislature and commenced their session in the Presbyterian church. . . . Resolutions were called for, and I submitted a number. . . . Judge O'Neill made a speech and advised moderation. Judge Huger replied with great tact and ability. Judge David Johnson then took the floor, and moved an adjournment. The next morning he spoke for some time, urging prudence and moderation. Judge Huger replied in a noble speech. . . . He completely demolished Judge Johnson's arguments, and appeal in favor of moderation. . . . If there had been any disposition on the part of Judges O'Neill and Johnson to falter or waver in this matter, the speech of Judge Huger settled them. . . . I walked with Judge Johnson from the committee room to the church. He said to me: "We shall all agree" . . . Judge Johnson told me not to go to the inauguration of Governor Hayne, who was to be the first one to take the test oath, when he qualified, as it would be countenancing moral perjury.<sup>6</sup>

As had been expected and anticipated, trouble arose over the refusal of two military officers to take the new oath prescribed by the legislature. These officials were tried in the lower court and their cases finally carried to the Court of Appeals for adjudication in 1835. David Johnson was still president of this court.

It was predicted that, although his sympathies did not lie with the party which favored nullification, it would be impossible for him to decide against the majority party, the action of the legislature and public opinion. His associates on both bar and bench have vividly portrayed his participation in this momentous question which seemed at the time paramount to South Carolina as well as one affecting and involving other Southern states. In referring to this trying time, Judge T. N. Dawkins, expressed his version of the circumstances:

For several years there had been a most violent party contest going on in this State, separating in its bitterness friends, kindred and families; a considerable majority of the people were in favor of the ordinance of the Convention [1832], and of course of the Act of the Legislature passed to carry out the same. Governor Johnson belonged, in the political contest, to

<sup>6</sup> B. F. Perry, *Reminiscences of Public Men* . . . Second Series (Greenville, S. C., 1889), pp. 215-219.



the weaker party. Such was the excited state of public feeling, that it was confidently believed that even if Governor Johnson's opinion was adverse to the law, he could not go in opposition to it—those who entertained such opinion knew not the man, he had too much of virtue, of Roman courage to be deterred from expressing any opinion which he honestly entertained, and he and another member of the Court constituting a majority, decided against the law.<sup>7</sup>

The breach between Calhoun and Johnson was healed in the years following their difference of opinion and both were brought closer together in their later years in their mutual participation and efforts for States Rights. While David Johnson was governor of the state, he wrote to Calhoun, then serving his last days in the United States Senate as a member from South Carolina, and asked his advice on the presentation of this question, so vital to the interests of the South.

After his retirement from public life at the age of sixty-six, which he had made with the fixed determination of leaving political matters behind him, Governor Johnson felt it necessary and urgent on several occasions thereafter to speak in the interests of his beloved South Carolina on the secession movement. On one such occasion, while speaking at his old home in Spartanburg District, he ended his appeal with these words, "If I had but a day to live, that is due to South Carolina."<sup>8</sup>

David Johnson was married to Miss Barbara Courtney Asbury Herndon, June 2, 1807. She was a daughter of Judge Ben Herndon of Columbia, although she was born in Wilkes County, North Carolina. Her brother, Ben Herndon, Jr., was also prominent in the legal profession of the state.

Governor Johnson was the father of a large family, although many of his children died in infancy. Those who lived to maturity were: Edward Coke, Benjamin Herndon, David William, Christopher Columbus, Langdon Cheves and Eliza Penelope. Benjamin Herndon joined the army of the Republic of Texas in 1836, and was killed on territory claimed by both Texas and Mexico in December, 1839; Christopher also died in early manhood. Of the four surviving children, Edward and Cheves moved to Georgia in 1852; Penelope (Penie) married John A. Wharton, the younger, of Brazoria, Texas, in 1848, and thereafter made her home in that state. Only David William remained in South Carolina.

Three homes were maintained by the Johnsons. Their family home was at Lockhart Shoals, on Broad River a few miles from the town of Union, until this property was sold in 1853. In 1847 references appear in the governor's letters to Limestone Springs, then in Spartanburg District, but now in Cherokee County. This plantation

<sup>7</sup> Dawkins, *Eulogy*, p. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Dawkins, *Eulogy*, p. 14.



was the summer home of the governor until 1853, and his family home thereafter. During most of his service in the higher courts and his term as Governor of the State, the family spent the greater part of their time in Columbia.

David Johnson became a powerful and influential planter in the upper country where slaves were not numerous. However, he had acquired a large number of negro slaves and his parental care of his servants and his interest in their welfare is constantly reflected in the numerous notes of instruction and letters written concerning them.<sup>9</sup>

While Governor Johnson was a man of considerable means, he was evidently most generous with both his immediate family and his large group of relatives. By the time of his retirement he had given to his four living children about \$35,000.00 in money, in addition to lands, slaves and other property. His last days were spent in trying to dispose of his large plantation and his negroes.

His death in 1855, at the age of seventy-three, brought sorrow to the state, for his friends were legion. In his own community of Limestone Springs and at Union, near where he had spent his early manhood, and in the state capital, memorial services were held. He was buried at Union, January 8, 1855. In the following March and April the executors of his estate and a group of his friends arranged for the Reverend Thomas Curtis to preach funeral sermons; the first was at Limestone Springs, at which time all his negro slaves were permitted to attend; later the same sermon was delivered at Union.

The latter service was held on April 28, 1855, and at the same time Colonel T. N. Dawkins delivered a eulogy on the occasion of his death. This impressive service was participated in by the members of the Union Masonic Lodge and the Johnson Riflemen.

A memorial service was also held in the state capital by the Bar of South Carolina at which time Isaac Hayne, Attorney-General, presided; T. J. Gantt, Clerk of the Court of Appeals, served as Secretary.<sup>10</sup> The speakers on this occasion were Judge Mitchel King and Judge John B. O'Neill, the latter president of the Court of Errors, both of whom had served on the bench with Governor Johnson.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See, for instances, pp. 8-9 and Will, below.

<sup>10</sup> *The Charleston Daily Courier*, Jan. 16, 1855.

<sup>11</sup> In February, 1852, James M. Cleveland of Louisville, Kentucky, asked Ex-Governor Johnson for a sketch of his life for publication in a projected volume of biographies of governors of the states. This sketch, as shown by the endorsement on the rough draft, was forwarded to Cleveland April 25, 1852. The draft, in Johnson's hand with minor corrections by another hand was, with a few changes of wording, printed by J. B. O'Neill in his *Bench and Bar of South Carolina* (2 vols., Charleston, 1859), I, 278-289.

After his term as governor, Johnson wrote a letter to his friend and neighbor, Dr. Thomas Curtis, founder of Limestone College, with the evident intention of filling out two gaps in his or a similar sketch:

"Between the time of my going to the bar and my election to the Legislature, the precise time I do not recollect, I was appointed by the Legislature in



my absence and without my knowledge, Commissioner in Equity and Ordinary for Union District both offices involving the exercise of important judicial powers—finding that they interfered with my professional pursuits I resigned them both at the end of two years. . . . [On the expiration of his term as governor] Resolutions highly complimentary [were introduced in the House of Representatives] and a distinguished member of the bar (then and for many years before a member of the house) in advocating them remarked—amongst other things, that they were well merited; 'for' said he 'we have tried him in all sorts of harness—In the offices of Solicitor, Judge of the Law Courts, Chancellor, Judge of the Appeal Court and president of the Court of Errors and in the Executive chair and he works well every where.'"

The draft of the sketch written for Cleveland has been presented to the South Carolina Collection of the University of South Carolina Library by Mrs. William Wallace Johnson of Union. The letter to Dr. Curtis is in her possession. Acknowledgments are due to Miss Mary Wallace Johnson of Union, in connection with the sketch and location of the home of David Johnson, Jr. (see note 15 below).—EDITORS.



## GOVERNOR JOHNSON'S LETTERS TO HIS SON, EDWARD C. JOHNSON, 1830-1834

David Johnson was considered by his children a poor correspondent, and very few of his letters written to the family have been preserved. Always a busy man, he had occasion after his removal from Limestone Springs to Columbia, the state capital, to send frequent messages to his son and others left behind at Limestone Springs and at Lockhart Shoals. The slaves were often sent with supplies, for what was raised on the plantation was taken into town for the use of the family, and the supplies which it was necessary to purchase in the city were sent by the return messenger. At such times, the negroes carried many verbal messages, but more often David Johnson either wrote a short note of instruction himself or had another member of the family do it.

By 1831, Edward, the eldest son, had completed his college education in law at the South Carolina College at Columbia and had also completed a medical course at the Medical School at Charleston. He had prepared himself to practice as a doctor but his father reminded him of his needed presence at the plantation during his absence, and so Edward gave up any idea of a career for himself and remained at Lockhart Shoals to manage his father's large estate.

David Johnson could never relinquish his interests in the plantation and although required by his official duties to remain away from home for weeks at a time, he kept in touch with weather and crop conditions, and by a thousand little ways continued to direct the affairs of his negroes and his plantings, and even the purchasing and selling of all supplies.

Transportation of supplies from the plantation was by boat, and getting the boat properly loaded and started at the right time was a problem that could not be left to either the overseer or the negroes and Edward always received minute instructions concerning such matters. The market price of cotton, of major importance to all planters, was carefully checked and advice sent out to Edward accordingly.

The first eight letters give a fairly accurate description of plantation life in the South between 1830 and 1851.

In 1852, Edward moved with his family to Floyd Springs, Floyd County, Georgia. The last ten letters are addressed to him there.



Columbia 3d May 1830<sup>12</sup>

I send you by the return of the boat some supplies for the plantation which will themselves indicate for the most part the use for which they are intended. Your Mother commands you to take especial care of the Sugar and I would recommend to your care a little demijon of Brandy which is intended to be used as Medicein.

Of the Bacon contained in the Box Harris is to have 300 lb taking the hog wand—it cost here 9 cents. That contained in the barrels are of our own stock,

I send for the use of the Mill some oil and lamps and I wish them used to the entire exclusion of torch light—the negroes there will probably not know how to use them and you will do well to instruct them—I send also a sealed half bushell which I wish kept at the Mill.

On my way down I met Crowder and his company returning from Henderson; not having been able to procure work there they will probably return to my Mill sooner than they calculated when I left you & will begin on the dam & I beg you to furnish them with all the facilities in your power as without an additional dam we shall do but little there through the summer. Crowder has agreed to make me a fan and I instructed him to countermand the order which I had given you to procure William to make it. I send the seives for that purpose—tell him to have the timber well seasoned of which it is made.

I wish you to have the potatoes which I have just planted on fresh strong land & if you cant get a piece that will suit you can probably find time to prepare a place in the new ground.

I beg you will keep Harris in mind that an early push at the crop is all important and that he ought to keep all the ploughs in motion whenever it is possible.

Remember me affectionately to your Grandmother & beleive me.

P. S. Your Mother mentions that you will want summer clothes. Suppose you come down in the course of two or three weeks and get them yourself. I shall then want to see you & hear from the plantation. I have failed in procuring oil & lamps but will send them up by the first opportunity.

Columbia 5th February 1831

I have sent to Montucks ware house on the canal 100 lb. sugar & 50 lb. of coffee & a coil of rope with directions to forward them to you by the first Boat—let Mr. Gregory have 50 lbs sugar & 25 lbs coffee—the balance is intended for your own supplies—

Cotton is now very flat here & in Charleston and the prospects before us is gloomy enough and if you have not sent any on before you receive this I much prefer that you would not send any if you can get corn brought down without it untill you hear from me again as it must be here on expense—but if it is neccessary to make up a boat load you must send—I can probably manage my bank matters without it and I dont care to sell untill late on in the spring unless it should raise—but I will write you again after I get to Town.

<sup>12</sup> The letters are signed with occasional differences in wording, "Affectionately your fater David Johnson".



Clough Shelton died on Thursday last of the small pox and I am in great alarm for fear it shall break out in your neighborhood and I wish you by all means to get the cow pox in the family and keep it alive on the plantation by innoculating the little negroes & if the small pox should appear you will have it ready to inoculate the whole—they have the cow pox in the village and it would be well to take one or two of the boys up & have them inoculated there that you may see the manner & be able to perform it yourself—

P. S. It has occurred to me this moment that I have neglected to get the trace chains and it is now ten o'clock at night & I am to leave at 4 in the morning You must get them when you come down that will be time enough.

Columbia. 18 Feby. 1836

I regretted to find before I got to Chester that one of your sulkey wheels which had given away & would have brought it on in here to have it repaired and if you can think of any way of getting it home & will send it down in the boat I will still have it done.

I was not able to make arrangements for holding the court in Winnsborough [illegible] last of the week as I wished and shall be obliged to go there on Monday but shall return here on Wednesday night or Thursday morning—pray be precise as to the time as I shall leave home again on Saturday morning.

Our stock of corn and fodder is both very low—Frank will report to you the amount and I wish you to send as much of these articles as you can put on the boat—Your mother begs you will send her down as many chickens as you can get and a few turkeys say half a dozen if you can spare or get them—

I send you a coat which I suppose is exactly the thing that you want if it fits you. If it does not send it down by the boat & I can exchange it for another it cost \$16—When the boat comes down write for what other articles you want dont forget to put down the number of weeding hoes.

The family are all well & join me in regard for you—Benj. left here last thursday with the volunteers under Capt. Elmore for Florida. They arrived in Charleston Sunday morning on the steam boat & were to sail again on the evening for St. Augustine.

P. S. In ploughing in your oats in the hills make them plough as nearly horizontal as you can.

We have this moment received a letter from Benj. dated at Savannah on Monday last & they were to sail immediately from there to St. Augustine & are I suppose there before this time. He writes in fine spirits & has been appointed flag bearer.

Columbia. 24th. June 1836

You will probably have received the letter which David wrote you by mail on my return from Town about a week ago and I must refer you to that for matters and things in general for I suppose he took a pretty wide range—since my return home my health although improved on the whole is not yet wholly restored & has prevented my going on the circuit my prospects are however improving.



When in town I purchased 2000 lbs of Bacon which I expect will arrive here every day and hope to have it in my power to send it up by Len Hughes when he comes down again and in the mean time I will procure the other articles which you want—I have been too unwell to attend to it heretofore—I have subscribed for the Courier newspaper & the Southern Agriculturalist and directed them to be sent to you at Pinckneyville—The Agriculturalist is published monthly in pamphlet form and I wish you to be careful to preserve all the numbers that they may be bound up and preserved.

I have regretted very much that my indisposition has prevented my going up to see how you are coming on—I was afraid that the continued rains would embarrass you very much with your crop but from Williams account of it I am induced to conclude that the present dry spell of weather will have enabled you to get the better of it, and I have no fear that you will succeed if it is possible,—industry & perseverance will overcome almost all difficulty—

P. S. Your mother requests me to say that if you can buy fresh butter in the neighborhood she would be glad you would send her some by Len Hughes when he comes down again.

Christopher & Chevis contemplate paying you a visit next week.

Columbia, 5th Augt. 1836

I received the announcement of your determination to leave my employment without [letter torn] and however pleased I should have been if you had found it to your interest to continue I cant complain and in giving my assent I must impose on you two injunction—the first is that you take unto yourself a help mate as soon as you can and secondly that you look out [for] someone to take your place on the plantation and I am the more desirous that you should do so as I hope you will find it convenient to pay such attention to it as to see that he does his duty.

I send you by your mother a small amount of money which I hope will supply your present wants—I have not been able to procure here the military books you want and learn from your uncle Col. Herndon that they will be furnished you by the state—I cant now procure here a gilt sword for less than \$28 and a pair of apaulets will cost \$14—Your uncle informs me that a captain is only entitled to one but that they usually substitute 2 wings which he thinks handsomer—I shall wait untill I hear from you and in the mean time an additional supply is expected which may probably be got on better [letter torn] will bring them up when I come—write me on the subject by William when he returns—

When I was in Spartanburgh last winter I requested Mr. Henry to procure a bill of all the costs including Whites & bring it with him to court here but he did not come nor have I heard from him & if you have an opportunity you had better pay White—I cant advise you about the waggon for you know whether you will want one or not—If you do not take it I must.

If you have any time after laying by your crop you had better employ the hands that you do not need about your buildings in cleaning up Addis [?] old field as I wish that inclosed before the next season—



pray have the two negro cabins finished & be sure to make the floors of the plank which you used as a shelter for your cotton—If Tob & Dick cant be otherwise better employed set them to planing the ceeling planks as I shall want that put up this fall.

Charleston, 23d Feb. 1843

I did not receive yours of the 15th Inst. untill this morning and of course too late to write to you at Columbia—I regret very much the fate of poor Gibson as much on account of the ruinous effect it will have on his own affairs as the inconvenience to me—but you did right in dismissing him and under the circumstances I dont know that you could have done better than to employ Mr. Savage—the only distrust I have of him is a doubt as to his capacity to govern the negroes and on that you must assist him with your advice and presence if necessary—You are I believe fully in possession of the arrangements made between Gibson and myself for planting the crop, that is as to the lands that are to be planted in oats corn & cotton and can direct him accordingly—beyond this I do not recollect any thing that is very important as connected with the plantation—I desire however that the garden seeds should be sown at the proper time and as Jerry understands it better than any one else there he had better be employed about it—I want also tobacco seed sown enough to plant an acre or two which Mr. Savage no doubt understands—the cattle that are fattening for beef ought to be killed if it is not already done as soon as they are fit and cut up and put in pickle. Dorinda I suppose will best understand how they ought to be cut. I wish Mr. Savage to attend particularly to the feeding of the stock and see that nothing is wasted and as far as practicable to feed each horse and mule separately. I expect to pay Gibson for the time he was in my service and am willing to pay Mr. Savage at the same rate but I wish it distinctly understood that in the event of disagreement I am to pay him only for the time he is in my employment.

Heretofore the session of the Court of Equity here in the winter was only four weeks but I find since my arrival here it was extended by an Act of the last Session of the Legislature to six weeks and as there is plenty of business to employ me I have no hope of leaving here untill about the 20th of March and I shall be at home as soon after this as I can and if you dont hear from me again send down my horses to meet me at Columbia on that day—let the person who brings them bring an extra horse and return on him immediately leaving mine at Mr. Evarts untill I come up. I am very unwilling that Mr. Savage should wait for the money I was to pay on account of the land. I have I suppose some funds in the hands of Law and Ellison & whether I have or not I am sure they will advance it and I will write to them immediately to pay to your order two hundred dollars and if an opportunity occurs you can send for it or it may be that Mr. Savage will take that on his way home & you can give the order to him—In either event I wish to take a receipt from him and all the family that are there in the form which I shall annex.



There is another difficulty growing out of my delay here. The plantation is deficient on work horses & I expected to have returned in time to supply them at Union Court. But as I cant be there I must beg you to do so if possible. I dont think that less than three will do and I would prefer mules if those of good size can be had and if the money cant be otherwise raised I should suppose that you could get them on a credit on the assurance that the money will be paid as soon as I get home which will not be beyond the 25th March—let me know how you succeed by the boy that brings my horses down. If you dont get them I may possibly pick them up in Columbia. In the mean time I wish you to instruct Mr. Savage to push his ploughing as fast as possible and if need be to use my carriage horses taking care to put them in careful hands and not to use them on rough grounds.

I am surrounded here with small pox. It is indeed all over the town and in the house right opposite there are said to be a dozen cases but none in the Hotel where I board—to protect William against I have had him vaccinated and he has just no[w] recovered from it. I was myself vaccinated about 48 years ago but that does not always prove a protection and I would have been vaccinated again but I should lose a whole week from business and have determined to take my chance. How I shall come out I dont know. He who holds our destinies in his hands can only foresee and I must abide his will—amongst my immediate acquaintances, William & Ormsby Blanding who had been before vaccinated have had the disease seriously and I hear of many others and today I learn that James J. Holmes who has had small pox has again taken it from attending William Blanding.

Remember me affectionately to Chevis.

Lime Stone, 29 Sept. 1847

By the agreement between you and myself stipulating for an exchange between Legal Law & the Addis place which is in writing I am bound to convey to you the Addis place reserving the right of way. I think thirty feet along the present road or Mrs. Naughens line and what is called the rich hollow the boundaries of which were laid out by Mr. Gibbs I believe & with which you are familiar. I am bound to make you a conveyance for it whenever you desire it and I would do it now if I had the necessary description of it. I will of course satisfy and sanction any disposition you make think proper to make of it. It will not therefore present any obstacle to your negotiation with Mr. McMahan. I had hoped that my children would have remained with me during the short remnant of life that remains to me by the ordinary course of nature—but if you think that a change of residence will improve your comforts and happiness I can oppose no objection to it. At your age you ought best to know what course to pursue better than I can prescribe for you and however much I may regret it you are entitle to pursue your own inclinations.



Lime Stone 1st. Augt 1850

I am much obliged to you for the particular & satisfactory account you have given me of the condition & affairs of my plantation and still more for the interest you have taken in them—I wrote to you last under some degree of dissatisfaction arising out of what I suppose to be Mr. Porters neglect of my instructions with regard to sending up supplies, on account of which I had to buy many articles that could have been supplied from home and think still that he ought not to have regarded Peters report as I have written to him without countermanding them except as regard the oats. When at the plantation I rarely have company and then the plantation supplies what I have occasion for—Here I have company almost every day and when not supplied from home have to ransack the whole country for the means of entertaining them and often without success—To remedy this evil I have ordered Mr. Porter to send up Jerry with a mule and the carryall on Saturday week with such supplies as he can command—I have nothing here that will work in the carryall & I propose to retain Jerry during the summer as William is not able to do anything one half his time.

I conclude from your account that Mr. Porter will have at least a short time between laying by his crop and beginning to gather it—If so cleaning the wheat ought to demand his earliest attention—next to that Jerrys house must be finished and on his going in to it—Obid must take that which he occupies—this ought not to be unnecessarily delayed—Flour barrells ought to be made and the wheat ground as soon as possible—but it is probable that I shall be down before that is done—I cant however venture to turn out in this excessively hot weather although my health continues to improve having got safely over my late attack, of which I wrote you—Peter tells me the mill has been lately out of order and I fear that under Corkins management & the small crop of wheat that is make it will be unproductive—I know I ought to attend to it myself but I am not now what I have been and have make up my mind to submit as well as I can to evils that I cannot remedy—I do not know whether Mr. Porter always understands exactly what I write & shall be obliged if you will assist to do so when it is necessary—

Porter tells me that the corn I bought of Reid is almost if not entirely consumed and I am afraid that what I am to get from Chevis will not supply bread for the negroes untill corn matures—If this is so request Mr. Porter to inquire whether any can be obtained and at what price—If it cant be had they must use the wheat—The ploughing is so nearly done that I suppose the horses & mules can subsist on oats alone or with very little corn—put him in mind of this if he has not thought of it—

In justice to Porter I ought to say that I never distrusted his inclination or ability to make the most of the crop and manage it well—It is matters incident to it—consisting of details of no great importance separately, but taken together enter largely into the enconomy of a plantation which overseers generally overlook that I feel concern about.



Moultri House, Sullivans Island 10th June 1851

My health has improved so much and so rapidly, the effect as I believe of the salt air & Sea bathing, that in the hope of its more perfect restoration I have determined to remain here a week perhaps two weeks longer\* and I have written to Janney to send Jerry and the horses home as it will save me an expense of \$20 or 30 dollars and I will advise you again as to the time I may want them sent back—I do not suppose that I have acquire even one additional pound but I feel that I am gaining strength daily—My appetite is good and for the last week or ten days my bowels have been almost regular—I want to get home very much but the love of life, worthless as it is makes me as I suppose desirous of holding on to it a little long.

P. S. The movements now making will I am afraid break up the state into two, perhaps three political parties—Separate Secession. Secession with the cooperation of other states and out and out Unionists—I still retain the opinion that we ought not to act alone but I wish you not to commit yourself untill I come home that we may compare notes and act together if we can.

Lime Stone Friday

The night after I left home I staid at the young widow Dawkins' where I was kindly received and found excellent accomodations. I arrived here the next day at 12 oclock less fatigued than I expected. Every thing between here and the plantation is parched up—the scenes of 1845 are to be reacted with the agrivation that we shall have no capital to begin the year with as we had then—I have written to Mr. Jennings amongst other things to take special care of all bread stuffs and when you see him put him in mind of it—I dont know whether he can read my hand or no—above here I understand the crops are better—Do let me hear from you occasionally

Limestone Springs 12th Oct. 1851

I regreted very much at not seeing you on my way up—I was too much whilst I remained at home to go to see you—there are several matters which I neglected to instruct Mr. Jennings about and must beg you to tell him, that I do not wish him to dispose of or engage any more of the course flour that is not already engaged—two for yourself and I think one other was engaged before I left—Instruct him also to have the wool that is to be woven died of a Brown color—any of the women—little Nancy knows how to do it and have it wove in the first piece. Priccy ought to be made to pick out cotton in good weather—she is very well able to do half work and there must not be any idlers. Impress on him the necessity of pushing on the spinning & weaving as fast as may be consistent with a due regard to getting in the crop—My hand bell was left I think at the head of my bed and a letter to Dorendas on the mantel piece in my room—tell Mr. Jennings to send them up when he sends my carriage next week.



There is a considerable stir in politics here and the signs I think are ominous of a favorable change. Dawkins speech at the muster has done much suorée.

[First portion of letter missing.]

taught to believe are always wise in their general results—It is therefore impious folly to complain of or repine at them.

You do not know my dear Edward how much joy it gave me to hear a rumor that you had connected yourself with some religious society—I did not hear of what sect and that I thought immaterial as the leading doctrines of all the Protestant Churches are substantially the same and the ceremonials I regard as mere conventional forms—I pray I may have been correctly informed for I know you will walk worthy of your vocation in whatever situation you may be placed—It is the only sure foundation of happiness now and of hope for the future.

David mentioned to me not long ago that he had recently received a letter from you in which you remarked that you had been offered a large advance on the price you paid for your land and that we need not be surprise to hear that you were off for some other state—If you have a healthy location good land and worthy and kind neighbors let me admonish you to stay where you are—The land ought to be worth as much to you as anyone else and the change is intended merely as a speculation that at best is hazardous—You have now wherewith to make yourself comfortable and to educate and make a reasonable provision for your children if you should live for a few years if you are fortunate and practise the industry and economy you have heretofore. It takes a man his whole life time to settle himself comfortably and you are now old enough properly to estimate the enjoyment of it.

In June I received the lost letter from you and replied to it not long after directed to California—On a separate sheet I referred to matters which I supposed was of interest to you and I expected an immediate answer but have not heard from you since—and conclude that the letter must have miscarried. You will find the substance of it on another sheet.

My health has been better this summer than for the last two years although I feel that my strength and physical activity are daily diminishing—I thought myself improved much by a ramble of a fortnight amongst the mountains—Flat Rock in Buncombe was the extent.

Remember me affectionately to Elizabeth and all the children and believe me

Capt. Ed. C. Johnson  
Floyd Springs, Geo.  
3d Oct. 1852

P. S. Expect an answer to my proposition to sell my property every day. I have detained this to give you the result. It was not untill last night that I received a letter from Stringfellow stating that Kennedy had declined taking the land and of course the contract is broken off. I shall gathered in my crop as soon as I can and will endeavor sell the land. If I succeed in that I will close my affairs in the course of the winter and in that event may want your assistance if you can spare your time.



Lime Stone Springs, 8th Dec. 1852

Our last letters I suppose pass each other on the way and I have waited untill now in the hope of hearing from you again—Since I wrote I received a letter from Col Scaife proposing to buy my land and another from Dctr. K Sims to buy the mill place & Legal law. I postponed Sims untill I should ascertain whether Scaife would take the whole and wrote to Scaife proposing terms—this is three weeks ago and I have not heard from him—whether either of them will buy or not I cant foresee but I go next week to my plantation & will close the negociation in some way or other—In any event I will not sacrifice the place and if there should be an actually necessity for raising money I will sell some of my negroes—I wish you were here to assist and advise me—I am too inactive to give my own attention to planting & without you know that I cant succeed well I have therefore resolved if I live to break up the whole establishment in the course of the next—

I did not know that the Georgia Legislature did not meet untill next Nov. and I have thought it best not to move in the matter about which I wrote you at this time as it might and probably would be lost sight of before the Legislature met—but if I live through the winter I will see it put in the proper train.

My health is now and has been since I wrote you much in the same condition—but I am obliged to avoid the cold and and confine myself to my fireside unless driven out by necessity—David and his family are I hear all well though I have not seen his family since March Chevis I understand is making preparations to move, where to, I know not—He is in one of his ways and I have not seen or heard from him directly since May. James Farr died yesterday morning having lingered about ten weeks with Typhus fever.

God bless you and your household and remember me affectionately to them all

Lockhart Shoals So Ca. 27th Dec. 1852

I arrived here from the Springs last Wednesday and found my plantation in a disordered condition—my overseer has been running about for the last two months to find a new home and everything bear marks of inattention and neglect—the consequence is that that I have still a good deal of cotton in the field which will hardly be worth gathering—the excuse for this is the bad weather and there is some reason in it—we have had frequent rains since the 1st of Nov. and for the last fortnight it has rained every day but three—all this has confirmed me in the purpose of getting rid of my planting establishment if I can without too great a sacrifice—

Col. Scaife has declined taking my land—young Billy Sims and Dunn both want the Mill and Legal Law tract but I have no offer now for the home place and if I sell to either I must be well paid—In any event I propose to offer at public sale all the lands I may have and most of my negroes—I have not yet fixed on the time & that will depend on the time that will be required to gather my cotton which will be towards the last of January or first of February—As soon as the time is fixed I will let you know it in the hope that you will come



and assist me—My main stay Col Macbeth has gone to Louisiana about Doctr. Beateys estate and I cant do without your aid—

Cheves is in a great bustle preparing as he says to move—first however he proposes to leave here about the 8th of Jan.y to make you a visit & says he loves you more than all the rest of the world—"What," said" I—and yet you were going to kill him if he came on your plantation"—that" he replied "is all settled"—amongst other objects he expects by your aid to raise a considerable sum of money to enable him to buy some of my negroes when they are sold—Dont speak of this to him—What he intends or what he will do passes my understanding—He came to see me within a few hours after I arrived here although I had not seen him since April & affected to be in a very good humor—David and his family are I hear all well—My love to Betsey and all the children and believe me

P. S. keep a good look out for another letter at your post-office within two weeks when I shall have arranged my matters—

Lockharts Shoal So.Ca. 4th Jany. 1853

I have just inclosed to the Unionville Journal for publication an advertisement offering for public sale my plantation, forty negroes, live stock, provisions etc. on Thursday the 3r day of next month and if it is possible you must come in at least a week before to give me your assistance & support—David is inefficient and I can make no calculations on Chevy—He left here a few nights ago in a great pet with David who was here and I believe with myself—when I shall see him again I do not know nor do I know what he will do—Come on if you possibly can—old Will capers with joy in the expectation of your coming—With him Master Edward & Georgia is the sum of all his hopes and wishes.

I had but one object (your coming) in writing this and close here.  
My love to Betsey & the children.  
Bring Adolphus with you.

Limestone Springs, So. Ca. 23rd. Novm. 1853

You are aware that my only means of getting money is from collections on account of the sale of my property and I can hardly expect to realise any from that source so early as the 1st of January but if I should I will postpone the payment of my own debts and the first money I do get shall be applied to assisting Chevis to \$1500 which I promised & paying your debt to the Messrs. Farrars. In the mean time I will write to them to know if they can wait until I can in this way raise the money and advise you of the result.

The crops here are turning about what was expected. The average cotton crop will be throughout the state about two thirds of last year. The up country is pretty well supplied with corn but there is a great deficiency in the middle country and you Georgians will find a good market there for your surplus and I am satisfied that the cotton that is made—war or no war in Europe—will command a fine price in the Spring if not sooner for all accounts are that there will be a great deficiency every where. I have, you know, no interest in these matters



now but it has been the habit of mind for a very long time to notice these matters and apart from personal interest I feel concerned in every thing that affects the community—I cant forget that I yet belong to the world.

I have no news and have abandoned speculating and moralizing for I have never yet seen it profit any in epistolary correspondence. My own health is much as usual—never well but rarely confined so that I cant see company at home—though I never go abroad. Davids family according to the last account were all well—His crops of corn and cotton both short. He thinks however that by rigid economy he will squeeze through next year.

Remember me affectionately to your wife and children & to Chevis and believe me

Lime Stone Springs So Ca  
15 Dec. 1853

In conformity with what I wrote you I addressed a letter to the Messrs. Farrars proposing to them to pay your debt when I had the means of doing so—In their answer they say 'As regards the payment of Edwards debt you can do so when convenient' and I suppose you can feel yourself quieted on that score for I will pay it as soon as I have the means.

I have really nothing else to write to you about except to tell you that I am dragging on in the old way—never well but always cheerful—Time is making sad encroach upon me and I have become so inactive that now I rarely quit the precinct of my yard and garden.

Remember me affectionately to your wife and children & to Cheves and believe me

Lime Stone So Carolina 25th Feb. 1854

I ought to have replied to yours of the 4th by the return of Chevis but it was not thought of untill he was in the act of starting—He has of course given you all the local news—

On enquiring of Mr. Beirein when he was here I learned that the debt due me by Nesbitt & Stroup was in a hopeless condition, but that Stroup was industrious & enterprising & might rise again and since then I have heard that Nesbitt had involved him in helpless insolvency—about a year ago Nesbitt had 6 or 7,000 dollars of stock in the Iron works at Pacolit & my only hope now is to lay an attachment on it and I may realize some thing on it—It is I believe the only chance.

I am pleased to hear that your children are at school & hope they have good teachers—It is better to learn nothing than to learn what ought to be unlearned—I would not insist on very high qualifications for young children but no teacher ought to be encouraged who does not understand Arithmetic, write a fair hand, read and speak well and pronounce correctly—such a one I should suppose might be obtained for moderate wages and if you now have one deficient in these qualifications I should think you would find it profitable to employ one even at your own expense. A few hundred dollars would pay it—



You cant do better for your children and at your age that is all a man labors for beyond his own comfort—I cant advise you as to the propriety of removing from your present location—the unfitness of the soil and climate for the production of cotton is a strong motive but I will use the occasion to repeat what I have often before endeavored to impress upon you—If you do remove get amongst respectable and intelligent neighbors, which you cant find amongst the poorer classes—In general ignorance and often vice are their portion & despite of all your efforts the character of your children must take the cast of those around them.

I am glad you have become acquainted with Col. Berrien who I take to be a gentleman of correct principles and I shall be pleased if you should establish a familiar and friendly intercourse with his and Cousin Tom Sheltons families—It is true that Mrs. S. is a little stiff on a slight acquaintance but I do not think pride has any thing to do with it for she is certainly very friendly & kind hearted.

David has lost his youngest child a fine little girl about 18 months old about the 12th inst—She died in a convulsion arising I suppose from teething which did not last more than an hour—I have not seen him but it must be a severe affliction both to him and his wife for I have never seen more indulgent & affectionate parents.

My health has been in a good degree stationary during this very severe winter and if I find myself in anything like traveling trim I propose to visit Charleston according your advice in April or May to remain a month or two. Besides my general health there is another motive. My hearing is getting rather worse than better and I learn that there is now in Charleston a Physician (no quack but a scientific well educated gentlemen from London who is opening the ears of those that are born deaf at least in one instance and the subject not only hears but is learning like a child to speak and has open the eyes of another who was blind by fumigating them with smoke from stricnine—this I derived from an authentic and reliable source and I wish to give him a trial if he dont use the knife for I cant stand cold steel.

Remember me to Cheves & give my love to Betsey and all the children.

P. S. I think you promised to come to see me this winter or spring—May I expect you to keep it? I should be pleased to see you and all or any of your family at least once a year—A few more years and that service will be ended

Lime Stone Springs, So Ca. 14th May 1854

It is so long since I received your affectionate favor by Cheves that I have forgotten whether I answered it or no, but except in the way of keeping up our correspondence you have not lost much as I had but little then or now to write—I stay altogether at home and for the most part my intercourse with the world is confined to our little village into which strangers very rarely obtrude and my life is passing off as smoothly as I had any reason to expect—the disposal of my property has relieved me of many cares and I am winding up my concerns of the world as fast as I can—Franklin has said that every



man who was in debt was a slave, and I have found it so—up to this time my collections have fallen very short of what, making all reasonable allowance, I had anticipated but in another year I hope to be entitled to all the privileges of a free man—My health, thank God has improved since the opening of the spring and it may be that I shall hold out another winter—I have purchased a hundred acres (Norris' opposite of as poor land as a crow ever flew over and am making experiments in a small way, with guano & other fertilizers. I think it will pay but if not it will afford employment and pleasant amusement & if the Seasons favor I think I shall make bread for the next year. I am right sure I could do so if you would put 50 acres of your best land in a frame and send it to me by the mail.

I am concerned about the propriety which you suppose exists of your breaking up and leaving your present location, but I am unable to advise you—that there are objections to it I know from your own report of it. The climate is unpropitious for the production of cotton to which you are accustomed. The proportion of rich land to the poor is so small and so detached in small parcels, that you can never have a population wealthy and dense enough to support respectable churches & schools nor for keeping up a desirable social intercourse and I can only repeat what I have often expressed before that in making a new settlement you should look first to the society around, where you will generally find, Secondly, a good soil & thirdly, convenient transportation to a market for your produce. Keeping health always in view. Your own experience will no doubt have suggested some of these matters and notwithstanding some kinks in your head which I have never been able to twist out I have a good deal of confidence in your judgment & prudence.

Penelope writes that she will be here next month to spend the summer & she wishes you & Cheves to meet her here and as it is probably the last time that the thing can happen it would delight my old age to see the whole family together in harmony—think of it yourself and speak of it to Cheves—If you do come bring some of your children, the two oldest at least. When Cheves left here my heart was so full of the doubt whether I should ever see him again that I don't know whether I was civil to him or not—tell him that I shall be glad to see or hear from him.

My love to Betsey and all the children and believe me.

P. S. I forgot to say Pennie has a daughter about two months old—the third in about three years since her marriage—poor child.

#### WILL OF GOVERNOR JOHNSON, 1853<sup>13</sup>

##### South Carolina

In the name of God Amen: I David Johnson of Limestone Springs in the state aforesaid being of sound mind, memory and understanding do make and ordain the following and no other to be and contain my last will and testament, that is to say:

<sup>13</sup> The will is from a copy in Governor Johnson's hand; the "Rules of the Plantation" below are from the original presumably in the hand of E. C. Johnson. Both papers are owned by Mrs. Florence Johnson Scott but photostatic copies are in the University of South Carolina Library.



First. I give and bequeath to my son Edward Johnson my old body servant William and commend him to his care and protection; I also give to my said son my colored boy slave called Charley, my portrait by Peticola now in the possession of the Honorable W. C. Preston, my gold-rimmed spectacles and silver tobacco-box.

Second To my son David Johnson I give and bequeath my coachman Jerry, the seal attached to my gold watch engraved with my initials, my collar and sleeve-buttons also engraved with my initials, my Library (Sir Walter Scott's Works and Clarke's Commentary on the Bible, which I have given to my daughter heretofore are excepted) and Secretary and Book case and my plaster bust by Clark Mills.

Third. To my son Langdon Cheves Johnson I give and bequeath my negro boy my enamelled snuff box and razor case with its contents and one hundred dollars in cash to equalize his legacy of small articles with those of my other children

Fourth. To my daughter Eliza Penelope Wharton I give and bequeath my negro woman called Silena, my gold watch and chain, they were her mother's, and her mother's portrait by DeVeaux

Fifth. To my son Edward Coke I have advanced in property and by other means Seven thousand seven Hundred and twenty four (7724) Dollars. To my son David, Nine thousand five Hundred and forty two (9542) Dollars: to my son Langdon Cheves Nine thousand four Hundred and three (9403) Dollars, and to my daughter Eliza Penelope Eight thousand five Hundred (8500) Dollars and my will is that after the payment of my debts or sufficient provision be made for them, all of my Estates real and personal in whatever form they may exist be so divided amongst and between my said children, Edward Coke, David, Langdon Cheves, and Eliza Penelope as to make their shares or portions as nearly equal as may be. In this division, the advancements heretofore made and the value of the slaves herein bequesthed Estimated at the time of my death (except my servant William bequeathed to my son Edward) are to be taken into the account and charged to them respectively as part of their shares or portions. If a division in kind, in part or in the whole be practicable my Executors or a majority of them are hereby authorized to appoint three discreet persons to make it: but a sale, at least of my remaining visible property, perhaps the whole will be necessary to make this division and my executors or a majority of them are hereby authorized to determine as to the necessity or propriety and if a sale should be necessary or proper, they are hereby fully empowered to make the same at such time and on such terms and conditions as they may think fit. But in no event are mothers of young slaves to be separated from their children under twelve years of age

I do hereby nominate and appoint my friend the Hon. John Belton O'Neill, Col. Thomas N. Dawkins and Robert Macbeth Executors of this my last will and testament

In testimony whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed my seal at Limestone Springs this the twenty sixth day of November in the year of our lord one thousand eight hundred and Fifty Three

(Signed) David Johnson (Seal)



The foregoing was signed by the testator David Johnson in our presence at the time and place therein stated and declared by him to be and contain his last will and testament, he at the time being of sound mind, memory, and understanding and the undersigned have in testimony thereof hereto subscribed our names to this and a duplicate hereof, in his presence and in the presence of each other.

Lemmuel Fernandez, William B. Nott, Saml. Otterson

#### CODICIL

South Carolina,

Spartanburg District. Whereas I David Johnson of the District and State aforesaid did heretofore viz. on the 26th day of November of the year now last past, duly make and execute in duplicate a certain paper writing as and for my last will and testament which said paper writing bears the date above mentioned, and whereas upon examining the same, I have thought fit to make in the form of a Codicil, the following additions to and alterations in the disposition thereof

First.—I hereby nominate and appoint my son David, one of the Executors of my said last will and testament in addition to those therein named, and if in the Execution of all or any of the discretionary powers confided to my said executors by the said will, there should be an equal division of opinions, it is my will that the matter shall be decided by an umpire to be selected by them

Second.—So much of my said will as gives to my daughter E. P. Wharton, my negro woman Selina referred to in the fourth clause is hereby cancelled and revoked and instead thereof I give and bequeath to my said daughter my negro woman called Irene and her two children, William, about four years old, Caroline about one and a half years old and my boy Aleck, about twenty-one years old and to my grand-daughter Catherine Ross Wharton, the child of my said daughter, I give and bequeath Celia, the oldest child of the said woman Irene, now about six and half years old. I also give and bequeath to my said daughter, to be selected from my silver plate, the articles viz: one soup-ladle, one large gravy spoon, one sauce-ladle; one dozen table-spoons, one dozen dessert spoons, one dozen tea-spoons, two salt-ladles, one dozen dinner forks, one dozen dessert forks and a pair of plated bread-waiters, one mahogany bedstead, bed mattress and bed furniture, to be selected by her and my mahogany bureau, part of the furniture of my chamber

Third.—I give and bequeath to my son Edward my negro woman Selina, and my negro boy Ned about eight years old and to my son David I give and bequeath my negro man Cornelius, otherwise called Nick

Fourth.—It is my will that in all cases of the bequests of female slaves, the after-born issue and increase shall go with their parents and be accounted as part of the legacy

Fifth.—It is my will that in the settlement and distribution of my estate the rule prescribed in the fifth clause of my said will as to the mode of accounting for advancements and legacies, to my children



shall be applied to the bequests herein contained so that equality amongst them may be preserved

Sixth.—A Codicil to my said will bearing the date of the seventh of August last attested by L. Fernandez, C. L. Clark, and M. S. McArthur has been destroyed and is hereby cancelled and revoked. Witness my hand and seal at Limestone Springs this the twenty-second day of October A D one thousand eight hundred and fifty four.

David Johnson (Seal)

EDWARD C. JOHNSON'S "RULES OF THE PLANTATION", 1850

A good crop means one that is good, taking into consideration everything—negroes, land mules, stock fences ditches farming utensils, all of which must be kept up or taken care of and if possible improved in value as well as the steady increase of the value of the rest of the property.

Rule 1. The overseer will be expected to work in the crop when not otherwise employed. He must be constantly with the hands when not otherwise engaged in the employers business and will be required to attend on occasions to any pecuniary transactions connected with the plantation

Rule 2. The overseer is not expected to be absent from the plantation unless actual necessity compels him. Sundays, attending musters and occasionally devine Worship excepted, and then it is expected that he will, on all occasions be at home by night.

Rule 3. He will attend morning noon and night, at the stable and see that the mules and horses are watered curried and fed.

Rule 4. He will see that every negro is out by daylight in the morning—a signal being given by a blast of the horn. He will also visit the negro cabins at least once or twice a week to see that all are in and to send all from the plantation that do not belong on the same.

Rule 5. The overseer is not to give passes only to those who may have wives off the plantation once a week and those that have no wife once a month and in all case to specify the place in the pass that the negroes may wish to go to. Nor is any negro allowed to visit the plantation without showing himself to the employer or overseer.

Rule 6. As the whole stock will be under the immediate charge of the overseer it is expected he will give his personal attention to it and will accompany the hog feeder cow feeder and sheep feeder once or twice a week to feed them and count and keep a correct number of the same. The feeders of the above stock is required to attend to feeding them every morning and night in the winter season, and the hogs during the year every morning.

Rule 7. The negroes must be made to obey and to work which may be done by an overseer who attends regularly, to his business with very little whipping for much whipping indicates an inattentive bad manager. No unusual punishment must be resorted to without the employers consent. He is required never to whip a negro to gratify his passion.

Rule 8. The sick must be attended to. When sick they are to make known the fact to him; if in the field he is requested to send



them to the employer if at home; and if not the overseer is expected to attend to them in person or send for a physician if necessary. Sucking and pregnant women must be indulged more than others. Sucklers are to be allowed time to visit their children morning noon and evening until they are eight months old, and twice a day from thence until they are twelve months old. If convenient they are to work near their children. No lifting pulling fodder or hard work is expected of pregnant women

Rule 9. The negroes are to appear in the field on Monday mornings cleanly clad. To carry out said rule they are to be allowed time (say one hour by sun) every Saturday evening for the purpose of washing their clothes—

Rule 10. The overseer is particularly required to keep the negroes as much as possible out of the rain and from all kind of exposure

Rule 11. It will be expected of a good manager that he will constantly arrange before hand the daily work of the negroes so that no negro may wait to know what to go to doing. Small jobs that will not admit of delay must be forthwith attended to

Rule 12. It is required of him to keep the tools plows hoes &c. out of the weather and have all collected after they are don using them. The wagons and carts must be kept under a shed. He is expected to keep good gates bars and fences.

Rule 13. The employer will give him a list of all the tools and farming utensils and pace the same in his care and he is to return them at the years end to the employer; if any are broke the pieces are expected to be returned.

Rule 14. He is to have no controle whatever over the employers domestic affairs; nor to take any privilege, in the way of using himself or loaning the empolers property to others.

Rule 15. It will be expected of him that he will not get drunk and if he returns home in that state he will be immediately discharged. He will also be immediately discharged if it is ascertained he is too intimate with any of the negro women

Rule 16. It is distinctly understood in the agreement with every overseer should the separate from death or other cause—and either is at liberty to separate from the other whenever dissatisfied the employer paying his overseer a months wages in advance pro-rata for for the amount stipulated between them and the overseer by giving his employer a months notice of his intentions to leave him and deducting a moths wages pro-rata. of the amount he is to receive and without either giving their reasons for so doing in said event the employer upon settlement is not expected to pay the cash nor settle for the year but for the time only he remained in the employers service by not due January next or at the sail of his crop of cotton of that year.

South Carolina, }  
Union District. } Articles of Agreement made and entered into this  
day of January 1850 between E C Johnson of the first part and I N Pludd of the second part; witnesseth that the said I N Pludd agrees to live in the capacity of an overseer on the plantation of the said E C Johnson for the sum of one hundred and seventy-five dollars



payable on the sail of his cotton crop of 1850 or the first of January 1850. Provided there should be no disagreement between them in that case E C Johnson is to pay him a months wages in advance pro-rata and dismiss him. And the said I N Pludd is at liberty to leave the employment of E C Johnson as overseer by giving him a months notice of his entention to do so and deducting a moths wages of his salary as Overseer After the first day of September E C Johnson is not to pay I N Pludd if he leave his employment after that time E C Johnson is to pay him only for the time pro-rata of year wages that Pludd may have staid with him. In consideration of the above sum per month or year the said I N Pludd obligates himself to give his undivided attention to the business of the said E C Johnson: to be subject to the controle and direction of said E C Johnson in the management of said business take care of stock of every kind and keep the plantation utensils and implements in perfect order and do all the duties of an industrious and attentive overseer.

[The paper closes with blank form for signatures.]

LETTERS OF DAVID W. JOHNSON TO HIS BROTHER EDWARD C.  
JOHNSON, 1835-1855 <sup>14</sup>

Columbia 13th Jan. 1835

I should have written to you often before this, had I not been certain, that if I did, you would not answer my letter. This sort of correspondence I cant stand I cannot do all the talking and let you say nothing not even yes or no. Now if you wish me to write, you must answer my letters. I can never allow anyone except a lady to neglect answering my letters and if even they, sweet creatures as they are, were to be so rude I would consider it as a kick (or at any rate a backing of the ears which you know is very near the same thing) and so I would be apt to back clean out of the scrape and try to find some one who was more civil. You may see from this long speech about the girls, how very full of them my head is. The fact of the business is I am going to be married as soon as possible whether the old folks say *yes* or whether they say *no*. And if I find I cant support my wife I will call upon you to help me out of the scrape, inasmuch as you offered to lend me the money to get into the scrape. Why man as you see how I am going to distance you in the getting of a *rib*, I say why will you let me beat you so far? Pluck up your courage, you know you can beat any of us if you will only try. I dont who you ought to court but I simply say court the one you love best. For the life of me I cant see how a bachelor can be happy.

I presume you have already heard something of a strut in Charleston between two of the students. Whaley, the one from Edisto, went to post Boyce from Charleston and brother of your acquaintance John Boyce. Boyce to prevent him drew a cow hide and advanced upon him. Whaley then drew a pistol and took aim at him. Maxcy

<sup>14</sup> Nine children were born to David and Barbara Johnson, two died in infancy; six lived to maturity—these were Edward, Benjamin, Christopher, Thomas David, Langdon Cheves and Penelope. The letters of David are signed, with variations, "Your affectionate brother" or "Your Brother Dave".



Gregg, who was Boyce's second drew also and took aim at Whaley to give Boyce time to get his pistol ready. Pinckney who was Whaley's second then drew his pistol on Gregg. An instant after all four of them fired. Whaley shot Boyce through and through. Boyce missed him entirely. Gregg shot Pinckney through the thigh. Pinckney's ball struck Gregg's knife in his vest pocket and thus his life was, by the merest accident, saved. It was an old quarrel—two challenges had already passed between them. Boyce and Pinckney are badly hurt but it is said that both of them are out of danger.

Father wrote to us the other day and said that he would come home a week from today (Wednesday). Mother says you must not forget to send us down some flour by the boat and also that you must buy some chickens and send down and Pa will pay you for them when you see him. I suppose Pa will write to you whether you had better come down or not. We don't know now whether he is going to the plantation or not he does write anything about it. At any rate we would all be very glad to see you.

Mother sends by Black some pieces for sisters quilt which Grandma is making.

Give my love to Grandma and to all the dear neighbors.

University of Va. 7th, May 1835

After my long neglect of writing to you, you will perhaps be somewhat surprised when you see this letter. That I have neglected you most shamefully I frankly confess, though it is with shame, and cast myself upon your generosity for forgiveness.

You must not suppose for a moment that, because I have this long neglected writing, I have for one instant forgotten a brother who has ever, and especially of late years, been to me the kindest and affectionate of friends, and whom I can never cease to regard with the tenderest and greatest love and admiration.

Father informs that he has prevailed upon you to remain with him for this year. This in as much as it will afford me the opportunity of seeing you again sooner than if you had left gave me much pleasure. But willingly would I have resigned this gratification if I had supposed that you remained against your will. This I hope most sincerely was not the case. By remaining with us this year you will have accumulated by its end both more money (as I hope) and certainly more experience in farming. The latter of these you are no doubt fully convinced will be of very great advantage to you when you move to the West. For as excellent a farmer, as all must and do acknowledge you to be, I hope you are not quite so vain as to think that you can not become still a better one. And moreover you will have more time to take unto yourself a wife. How does the Miss over the river come on, is *Sweeper* still courting for you or has he given it up in despair or rather is he about to make a match of it Oh! by the by I hear that Benj Rice has carried off your old flame of Sugar Creek. how does this make you feel—pretty *riproarious* and blood-thirsty or do you rejoice that you have gotten rid of her? Well done Capt. Ben, may joy and peace attend through life.



Are the *Nullies* still as hot as ever or have their late defeats somewhat cooled their courage? I am extremely anxious to know whom the *Unionmen*, your party, have nominated for the Presidency. Van Buren or White. The Van Burenmen have elected all their members to Congress from this State, and are gaining strength every day. I see by the Charleston Courier that the Nullies have split, that some are for White and others against him, "A house divided against itself cannot stand" so says the proverb, and so it will be with Nullification.

The university has been remarkably gay for the last four or five weeks. We have had a continued succession of pretty girls and parties without number. I was at a most splendid one the other night and met there Cousin Louisa Dabney who is as buxom an old maid as one could wish to see, with tongue enough for at least a dozen common people. Tell Grand Ma that I have not as yet been to see Aunt Dabney but shall do so as soon as possible, & that I have seen her son William several times who always tells me that they are in fine health.

Christopher is somewhat surprised and much mortified at your not answering his letter but nevertheless wishes to be remembered to you as one who loves you dearly.

Give my respects to Sweeper and the Preacher, to Mr. and Mrs Dunn, and my friends in general, to Flatfoot in particular. My love to GrandMa and Aunt Reid and family.

And accept yourself my love and best wishes for your welfare.

Columbia 29th May

Benjamin has returned safe and sound from Florida and looks healthier and better than I ever saw him. All the difference is that he is a little sunburnt. Tell this to Grandma for I promised to write to her about it.

Ma says that you must send her some chickens, that you must buy them at any price and some butter if you have not got it you must buy it. You must get the three turkeys that we hear are for sale at preacher Hughes's, she must have them, as she owes some to her neighbors and must pay them back in kind. Send us some corn down by Buck, for we are entirely out. Give as high as 25 cents for chickens if you cant get them for less.

I hope that the things I bought for you are suitable. I did my best to get such things as you directed. Benj. has determined to go on another campaign against the Indians either in Florida or Alabama provided he can get a commission in the army of 10,000 men that Congress is going to raise this summer.

Give my love to Grandma and accept it for yourself. Give my respects to my friend, the Great Preacher.

Ben stands very high with his officers and fellow soldiers all of whom think that he can get a pretty high comission. He wants a captaincy but I expect he will accept a lieutenantcy.



Limestone 2.nd Oct. 1850

At Pa's request I send you a copy of the letter I wrote you in reply to yours by Buck and direct it to Mount Tabor—the other being directed to Union C. H. thus doubling the chances of informing you of his views on the subject matter of your inquiry before you may be called on to act

He is of opinion that the action of South Carolina without the concurrence of some other principal Southern State would be impolitic and injurious to the Common Cause of Southern Rights, inasmuch as such a course would awaken that jealousy and suspicion which has been entertained towards her by some of the other States ever since the days of Nullification and which it has been the policy of our leading men to allay as much as possible by studiously keeping her in the back-ground since the agitation of this question of resistance to Northern oppression commenced—that all the beneficial effects of this prudent policy would be sacrificed by any hasty or premature attempt to throw ourselves prominently forward at the present juncture—

He thinks however that if the people of South intend ever to assert their claim to an equality of rights under the Constitution now is the time provided they can be brought to act together but if not we should wait until some occasion shall arise which will in effect unite us

As to the Southern Rights Association which it is proposed to form at Union C. H. he says he would not refuse his signature to the pledge if offered inasmuch as it would not bind him to any thing beyond what every Citizen already owes his state but the policy of such a movement at the present time he thinks very questionable as it may have the effect of creating party distinctions among ourselves, which should be most carefully avoided.

He requests me to say to you that there has been no consultation between him Judge King & Preston with respect to the propriety of Gov. Seabrook calling an Extra Session of the Legislature—It is true however that they all thought it unnecessary in view of the near approach of the time for the regular Session and may have so expressed themselves before others but it was done without any thought of concert or agreement to that effect—

It is getting late and I am suffering from a severe cold so good night Bud Ed. Fanny sends her kindest regards

You will find something of my own individual views in the letter directed to Union—

Meadow Woods. 6th Jany. 1853<sup>15</sup>

I saw Mr Gordon in compliance with your request and he said he knew nothing about the matter of the dower: He told me besides that Cheves had shown him a letter from you which had perplexed him very much as to how you intended to wind up the settlement of your affairs in respect to the land you bought of Long. That he could not make out exactly what you would be at—You had better

<sup>15</sup> Meadow Woods was a community about six miles west of Union where David's home Rosenvick was located. The post office was Fair Forest.



come in and see about it for what with Gordon's ignorance and Giles carelessness there is great risk of your being involved in trouble. Come in I most earnestly beseech you for this is not the only or perhaps the most important matter requiring your attention Father seems still determined to sell out but is unwilling to put himself forward before the public in the attitude of a man obliged to sell his property to satisfy his creditors, he thinks it would have that appearance were he to come out in person as the seller—and you know how very sensitive he always is in reference to public opinion—He wants an *agent* to take the trouble off his hands and to stand between him and the eye of the world. McBeth he would have preferred to any one else but he is in Louisiana winding up the estate of Dr Beatty and will not return till late in the Spring—He has since applied to Maj Johnson but he is wholly unfit, as Pa has since discovered—His eyes are now turned to you as his last hope. "If Edward will only come in all will be well" was his expression to me the other day—Cheves had prophesied that you would not come—I told him that you would from what I knew of your feelings for him as well as from what John Davis had told me—This had a very cheering effect upon him.

Brother Ed for God sake do come at once. Your presence was never more needed, for our dear old Father seems to me to be failing very fast of late and needs all the comfort that we can give him. You think you have cause of complaint against him and it may be well founded, but then remember he is still your Father—and that he now, broken down with age and infirmities, calls you to his aid in the hour of trouble, "If Edward will only come all will be well" Your heart must have become hardened, much hardened indeed, since I saw you if you can resist that appeal—Come to him, don't wait for him to write—but come at once He needs your advice as much as your active aid—I would gladly spare you and him all the trouble but apart from my inexperience, I believe he has about as little notion of my being a man capable of giving advice or attending to his business as I have of my little boy David's capacity for the same undertaking—It is hard for parents ever to recognise children as their equals in any sense In you however he has the greatest confidence and longs for your presence—He is still in great perplexity as to the course he should pursue I staid with him two days—and left him last Monday very undecided—He will employ no one to see after the negroes as he says he intends to sell in a month at furthest, the consequence is that the place is going wild fast—you can guess how they will plunder him under such circumstances—I advised him to hire some person for the month—no, he replied, he could manage better than any one else—And he never leave the yard at that—Can you make *any guess* at the way things will go on—with all hands turned loose with that old rascal Will at the head—The other night Pa said to Will "keep the Crib keys yourself as I dont wish to be disturbed so soon of Mornings." his eyes sparkled as he took them back—After a moments pause—said he—"Master you had better let me have the Gin-house keys as I have to go there very early after cotton seed to feed my sheep."

now was that not modest—he lost both by it.

[Remainder of letter missing.]



2d Augst 1853 Meadow Woods

Why! why! what is the matter with you—it is now long months since I wrote you last and no answer yet. Nothing to write about—weather too hot to do any thing that requires an effort of mind or body—these and nothing worse, are I hope your excuses for not paying up—

Well we have had any quantity of rain in the last three weeks and there is a pretty good showing of nubbins and not much more in the corn line The Cotton has gone off—to weed—like a quarter nag—And Genl Green, as poor old Frank used to call Crab grass is triumphing gloriously over all his foes—In the memory of man there never has been so much grass left, generally—yea Universally at laying by time—We had to adopt the Pea Ridge method and give it notice.

This allusion to the Ridge reminds me that I should tell you of the horrid murder of poor old Joe Hughes by that scoundrel Price some two or three weeks ago—The circumstances were briefly these as I have heard from the best authority—The poor old fellow happened to drop in at Price's on Sunday evening when there had been a considerable row between Price and some of his neighbours—It seems there had been cock-fighting, gambling drinking &c going on—in which however the old man had not taken part having been absent—Price it appears had been beating his wife in which agreeable amusement Jim Seigler had, it seems taken a hand—thereby getting both man and wife on his hands as is customary in like cases—he it appears upon this that he took to his scrapers—And the infamous rascal finding no one else to vent his rage upon—without the least provocation—fell upon poor old Joe—who was sitting down quietly in reading a book—and in cold blood beat him to death—I learn that it was with difficulty that the neighbours could be kept from applying Lynch law—they were so much incensed at the atrocious crime—The villain is now in Jail there to await his trial. About the issue of which there seems to be but one opinion I have given you the best account of the matter—which I have been able to procure most of the facts detailed were sworn to before the coroner at the inquest.

There are no other items of local interest that I can think of just now—

Have you heard of the rapid strides that old Spartanburgh is making in the cause of female education—Besides the Wofford College—the Methodists have determined to establish a Female College at the Village—The Episcopalians have bought out the Glenn's Springs for the same purpose—and rumour says the Baptists have purchased the Limestone establishment of Curtis's—

I have only seen Father once since you left and that for a short time have not been to Limestone at all as yet but expect to go up about the last of the month—From what he writes and from what I hear from those who have seen him he appears to be doing very well

Is there no chance of seeing you or Cheves then this fall—I hope so—Tell Cheves he might come at any rate—I wish very much to see him again that we may make up any little difference there may be still between us—Nothing is further from my spirit than to harbour malice against any man—least of all a brother.



Thank God we are all in good health I sincerely hope that you and yours may enjoy the same blessing.

Give my love to your family—Niece Virginia in particular—How did the cypress vines do. I have some most beautiful ones—

Write me soon dearest brother and let me hear all about your plans and prospects—are you settled or not—Some of my best neighbours talk of moving to your county—What can good small farms be had for

Fanny sends best love

Give my kindest regards to Cheves

My P. O. is Fair Forest.

Meadow Woods 9th Decr 1853

You didn't know that you were giving a slam to kinsfolk when you hit the Editor of the Journal that dig in the short ribs—Why man alive he is married to Ann Dogan and has gone to Columbia to spend the honey-moon—Take care how you let fly next time—Besides he has had nothing at all to do with the Paper the present year—McKnight has made out the best he could with occasional help from Bob. Gage and others—I will jog his memory about sending your Copy of it.

With reference to the Cotton seed Mr Berrien promised to send me a sack and one to Stark Sims—should he make no pay, it can not be helped now—the offer came from him—I believe he has some notion of removing to Charleston—at least he wrote to Pa that Sam Farrar had proposed to take him into his firm—He seemed a good sort of man enough—but I have long ago learned that appearances are often deceptive—Bob Gage says he will have but few seed worth sending but will divide with you—his Cotton crop is of the shortest—I believe that I have the best Cotton seed in this section—They are of the variety known as the Prout or Pomegranite—I have beaten all my neighbours making Cotton this year and I rather incline to the opinion that some credit for this is due to the seed—Would you like to have a dozen or two of them—I started with only three seed—According to my overseer's Count I shall make about 29,000 lbs of seed Cotton—but I have doubts of getting much over 20 good bales out of it it is nearly all gathered—I planted bales 56 acres and this would be a tolerable crop for the season provided my man's account be correct—I shall have plenty of corn—old and new—

I have been blessed with good health in my family both white and black, whilst the country around on all sides has been scourged with sickness—This I consider one great recommendation my place has—in eleven Years I have had but one case of fever and no ague, pretty good that is it not—Were I out of debt I could make a comfortable living here I dare not aspire to any thing more—Obscurity with a bare competency is to be my lot through life I scarcely look forward to any thing better—and strive to make up my mind to what appears to be inevitable—It is a weary world full of trials and troubles at the best and make the most of it we may—peace and happiness ever evades our grasp. I hope in God there is something better in store for us hereafter, if not utter destruction would be a great boon to us poor mortals—a favour to be coveted—Ours appears to be a doomed



family—to have been elevated to the highest pinnacle only that the subsequent fall should be the more marked that the plunge the deeper—raised to the light that the coming darkness should enshroud us the more deeply.

These melancholy reflections I try hard to escape from but they will some times overwhelm in spite of my utmost efforts—The keenest sting in the whole curse is that we are not united among ourselves. Were we to each other a band of brothers such as we should be we might be happier—Brother Ed I call you to witness that I have done nothing to produce discord in the family—towards Cheves you know that I acted with more forbearance than you thought I ought to have shown—I do hope that in his cooler moments he does me the justice to believe that I did not wilfully do him any wrong—it would rejoice me much that that wound was healed—I will do any thing that you will say I ought to do towards healing it—please advise me in the matter—

I have not been able to go to see Pa since we left him the first of last month—my business imperatively required my presence at home—I hope to see him before long however—He writes to me occasionally but not often for writing is a great labour to him—he is frequently two or three letters in arrears to me—for I write often to inquire about his health concerning which I feel great uneasiness—he told me when I left him that he scarcely expected to live through the Winter—I hope and believe that he will live a good while yet

Since writing what goes before—more than a week ago I have received a letter from him in which he says he expects to have young Maurice Moore with him during the winter—studying Law—this will be a great help to him.

The reason of the delay in sending this letter is that I have had no opportunity of sending to the P. O. which is some five miles off—

I have at length got land enough opened and shall spend this winter in fixing up my place in Manuring my old land—I am beginning to sow wheat and oats largely—there is no land in the world more productive of both these grains than the Meadow Woods—they can be more cheaply raised than corn—I intend too to raise more stock in future—paying from \$150 to 200 a year for pork alone is rather too digging

Good bye dearest Brother—how I long to see your face and grasp your hand in true brotherhood of feeling—My hearts Brother God ever bless you and yours—Give my love to all and tell my pet Virginia that at the proper season I will send her cuttings of the most beautiful flowers I have—With regard to fruit trees I have no scions worth six pence as all my trees are grafted—You must get some young trees and I will furnish the grafts.

Fanny sends her warmest love to Brother Ed David and Pemsee often talk of you they each send you a kiss

Do give me the last name of your P. O. it changing it so often that I am at a loss—or are they different offices.

Love to Cheves



Limestone Thursday Morning Jany 4th

Father is very low—and has been so very ill for the past four days that his death was looked for hourly—Life still lingers in him I still hope although almost against hope itself—He might die at any moment without exciting surprise so nearly is the vital spark extinguished to all appearance—No constitution less robust could have stood so long—now sixty days of unbroken fever—Nearly every body has given up all hope but I will not give up yet—not whilst life lasts I have so often seen him rally from the very jaws of death—I must be confessed however that this is the hardest of all his trials

The first of last week I wrote you that but little hope of his recovery existed in the mind of his Doct. and friends here—and that you must come speedily if you ever wished to see him in life—I requested Squire Goudelock to write you on a day or two after—he promised to do so—This makes the fourth letter to you and Cheves—and yet not one line in reply I do not doubt but that the mails are at fault

Come Come by all means if possible—I know it will be extremely inconvenient—hardly possible yet I do hope you will be able to leave home for a few days—whether Pa lives or dies your presence will be much needed—

Pa has frequently spoken of you—he says Capt Frenandis reminds him of you constantly

I have sat up with Pa three nights of the present Week—all last night—so I can not write this morning—I have never seen such friends and servants as Pa is blessed with

Love from all to all

Kind regards to Cheves—Can't he come—

Home Feby 18th 1855

Our noble old Father has at length gone to his last account with his Maker and, who humanly speaking, can give a better account than he of high and honourable deeds done whilst in the body, before that high and holy tribunal—To the last hour of his life I am certain that he deeply regretted that his manner of rearing his Children had not been different—that it had not been more calculated to win their love and confidence by a greater degree of familiarity with his in our Childhood—and a more intimate and confidential intercourse as we grew up towards manhood—That his love for us was the strongest and most abiding principle of his heart—his will I think abundantly proves—I know it by a thousand words and deeds—He longed to see you and often call your name in the last days of his life—And it did seem most strange to all of us that you did not come until your last letter informed us that you were on account of the ill health of your family He did not complain of your not coming however—doubtless thinking you had sufficient cause for remaining at home—he was always most considerate of the duties and obligations of others—Less than any man I ever knew was he exacting of services from any one. . . .

I sent you by Cheves some grafts of five of the best kinds of Pears in the world and Cousin Virginia some rose cuttings— . . .



Home March 28th 1855.

Well you are a hard hand to be sure Old Fellow—about as crossed grained as a crab apple tree ever got to be I am athinking—that is, as it would seem from your letters—but it is only skin deep—you can not make me think otherwise in a hurry be you as testy as you know how to be. The climate of Georgia must have taken a very sudden effect if it has changed your milk of human kindness into sour cream already—I tell you I wont believe it— . . .

I rejoice most heartily to hear of your freedom from debt—I have enough of it in all conscience but I now begin to have some hope of getting out You agree with me that Father's children should erect his monument and not strangers and so does Penny—Cheves talked as if he would also join us—but whether he does or not we three can and will do it—and let us do it at once—write to me if you please what are your ideas and plans on the subject—who shall we employ to select a proper plan and inscription for it—Judge King Father loved very much Wm C. Preston had good taste in such things—John A. Crawford Father himself mentioned to me as a proper person to consult . . .

Union C. H. April 7th 1855

Some eight or ten days ago I received a letter from a friend at Limestone Springs to the effect that it would cost me \$40 or 50 to have my furniture &c packed up in the way in which I had asked him to have it done—at the same time he informed me that old Mr Perry had informed Capt Fernandis that it cost you and Cheves as much for each of you—I determined at once to go up to see about it for all our sakes—as soon as the health of my my family would permit Accordingly on last Tuesday I did go up—And was immediately convinced of what I thought from the first that the Charge would be most outrageously high—Judge for yourself—all the boxes used cost me \$2.20 cts—I paid \$2 to Buck for his two days work—He did it all nearly himself in less than 2 days—and did the packing better in my opinion than any man in the the place could do it—having had far more experience—My fine chairs I wrapped in Gunny Bagging—which would be better than the matting commonly used by manufactors—Other articles of furniture bedsteads bedding, tables & Book Case I wrapped up in bagging or Packed in straw in the wagon body—The largest box and most tedious packing was of the Books—this trouble you will not have to undergo—As to the tables beds and bedsteads &c &c of course you will have to be more particular than I was—My expenses you see including the boxes bought at the stores—Bucks hire and all amounted to at the utmost \$5—And I feel confident that all of your things can be securely packed for at the utmost 10 or 12 dollars I hired most of my hauling, at \$3 a day the Common price—I required three wagons to hold my furniture—I am sure it will not take more than 3 to carry all your things to Yorkville—3½ days will be required to make the trip perhaps 4, counting the time consumed in loading and loading which would amount to \$36—the packing on the plan I propose of Bucks doing it would be \$12—making \$48 in all against the \$50 to be charged for packing alone by Mr Perry—worthing saving that I should think I



told Capt Fernandis and gave Buck orders to pack up your glass and Crockery at once, at all events—even if you wished it taken out afterwards—because being put on the lower floor by the appraisers (as mine also was) it was very much exposed to robbers—and there has already been one attempt to break into the house—

Capt Fernandis told me to write to you that he would have your things packed in the way I propose by Buck and if necessary hire a Jack-leg Carpenter at a dollar a day to assist him—Provided you would give him authority to do so—You had better see to it soon. I told Buck to use my name in getting any thing he might need—to use any loose plank barrels or casks on the place—and there is a lot of such things that were not sold—in packing your things or Pennie's—Cheves has the key of his room and no one therefore can do any thing for him—

I took the liberty Dear Brother of borrowing from your lot of the small articles which belonged to Father—his Masonic Apron, that the young Men of the Masonic Lodge here might have the use of it at the Celebration which they will make in his honour on the 28th of this month—the same day on which Col. Dawkins pronounces his eulogy—It shall be returned to you safely—unless you choose to make a present of it to this lodge of which he was a long time Grand Master—and member—They would take it as a high Compliment This is for you to decide however—I am not a Mason myself, are you? Do come in then if possible I long so to see you. Your friends all want to see you . . .

Rosenvik April 30th 1855 <sup>16</sup>

Your most welcome letter was received yesterday. And I reply at once for the purpose of throwing what light I can upon certain matters about which you express some anxiety to be informed—I will premise, by way of apology for not having done so sooner, that I supposed, as a matter of course that you had been informed on some of them by Cheves who remained at Union C. H. over a week for the purpose, as he said, to inform himself fully with regard to all matters relating to the Estate—I told him myself that by the direction of Judge O'Neale I had written to Wharton to send to the Executors the proofs of the Tittles to the Texas lands—that as there was no opportunity of selling the Rail-Road stock—it would have to be divided amongst us equally—With reference to the Iron Works stock—it was thought best to sell it as soon as possible at the Market price—after ascertaining the amount—of all This Cheves knows as much as I do—and I took it for granted that he told you—and so likewise with respect to the sail of the things at Limestone—All present agreed that the sale of every thing except the 100 acres of land—was an excellent one—I thought the land would have brought more by being kept awhile longer but both O'Neale & Dawkins thought otherwise—the house will be sold about the Middle of July during the examination of Dr Curtis' School—the best time that could be chosen as there will be then a large concourse of people there from all parts of the State, and that would be a good time to sell what furniture you conclude to sell—I scarcely know what to

<sup>16</sup> See note 15.



advise about the matter—but you had better take all your glass and silver ware—one box of ordinary size will hold it all very conveniently and it will bear the freight better than any things else—As you intend to move again you had perhaps better sell most of the other things I suppose to whoever buys the house—

Some weeks ago—The interest of the Estate of our Father in the Iron Works was sold to an English Company for 80 per Cent upon the original Cost of the Stock—which was 30 per cent more than Father himself offered it to Wm H. Gist at—The Contract of sale was drawn up and first signed by Chancellor Job Johnston (a sane hand) and then by all the other Stock holders, we were the last—It was a far better sale than I had ever expected to see made of it. . . .

Fair Forest P. O. Decr 31st 1855 <sup>17</sup>

You must certainly have got out of that sick-bed wrong end foremost judging from the tone of your last letter—What the deuce have I done to stir up your bile so savagely . . .

Now to business—

In reply to my earnest Call upon him—Dawkins on Yesterday and to-day gave me the following information with respect to the Estate—

Cash on hand at Govr. Johnson's death.....	\$ 519.37½
Gross amount of bonds and notes and Accounts in the hands of D. Goudeluck Esq at his death without Interest .....	26,216.68
Amount of Sale bill, including lands at and Limestone Springs .....	3,372.79
Amount of Household goods Silver Glass &c partitioned among the heirs.....	1,597.00
Due on notes & agreements in his hands at the time of his death which can be collected.....	108.75
Stock in Kings Mountain Iron Works at par Value..	6,700.00
	<hr/>
	38,514.59½

Besides this I know of Stock in the Union & Spartanburg R. R. to the amount of.....\$ 1,000.00

But this R. R. Stock is not worth now more than 20 cts on the dollar—And the Iron Works Stock hardly 50 cts on the dollar—But the interest of nearly three years on the \$26,216.68—would about make up the deficiency—

This statement does not include the Specific legacies, as you perceive

Dawkins says he does not intend this as an exact statement of the assets of the Estate but only an approximation to the truth In the same sense he says as far as he can now judge the debts will amount to \$13,000 A much larger sum than I counted on—Further In reply to my earnest remonstrance against delay in making collections he says he will wind up the Estate as soon as possible This not being satisfactory, I sent the boy right Back with a request to know something more certain about it—to fix some time His reply is, that he thinks there can be had, in the Coming Spring, a distribution of the

<sup>17</sup> See note 15.



greater part of the Estate— . . . Selena's Husband is cheap as dirt at \$900—and by all accounts a negro of excellent character—not at all unruly— . . .

LETTERS OF LANGDON CHEVES JOHNSON TO HIS BROTHER EDWARD C. JOHNSON,  
1852-1855 <sup>18</sup>

Union District Lockhart Shoals June 14th 1852

Yours of the 29th of May; has duly come to hand, and I glad to hear, of your continued health and prosperity, you state, in your letter, that you have written to me three times. I have received only two letters from you, since your departure the last one came only a few days since, the other soon after your arrival in Georgia so that the intermediate letter must have been lost or misplaced.

Be assured that I have the kindest feelings towards yourself and family: I should be quite unhappy to think that my culpable neglect; in not writing to you should attributed to anything else than laziness. If I have any partiality, for any member of our family: it is for yourself. let me beg of you to disabuse your mind of the belief that I have the least ill feelings towards you or any member of your family: I have witnessed with much satisfaction the love that both you and your wife bear towards your children and I know that you have the most kind and amiable disposition of any member of our family; I have regretted very much that I have not accompanied you to Georgia as my condition in this country is not a very pleasant or enviable one.

Our prospects for crops is at present very flattering provided we can get rid of the grass: which has pestered me and a good many; others; quite sorely. I have got rid of the greatest part of mine, and with good seasons I shall make a fine crop; the oat crop has been astonishingly improved by the rains; corn an cotton look very fine: so that we have hopes of peace and plenty; I have been at home nearly all the spring and summer and have attended pretty well to my business; my health is better than it has been for some time as I have recovered from the rheumatism Your many friends express great good feeling and wishes toward you: and your old neighbours miss you sadly as their friend physician and lawyer: they regret you As a good man departed from Israel you have left a name behind you that many a man might justly envy and admire—

I regret to learn that land is selling at such high prices in your neighbourhood in case that I should either join you in Georgia or that you should be determined to settle permanently in your present location; lands will be of course much higher when your children should have become grown so that you will have great difficulty in procuring good lands for them some 10 or 15 years hence. If I should come to Georgia I shall scarcely think of it as a permanent home: If I should come had we better not move farther south and west where lands are cheaper and the climate better adapted to the

<sup>18</sup> The letters of Langdon Cheves, with variations, are headed "Dear Captain" and are signed "Yours affectionately L. C. Johnson" or "Langdon Cheves Johnson".



growth of cotton I propose to write to you more fully of the subject in my next letter

In the things of this world those very circumstances which we at one time regard as the best possible things for us, prove in the end the greatest of curses and vice versa I am led to make this remark on account of the regret that you have expressed in your letter that there was no school in your neighbourhood to send your children to, recollect that you were once young yourself, and that youth is the accepted time for happiness and joy alas what chance for happiness in the world; in our youth the conduct of other parents make us unhappy as we grow older our own make us still more so If I were in your place I should put my children to work in the fields, (you have the experience of bringing up boys in idleness in your own family) As I have contended that the first lesson that a man should learn is to ma [MS torn out] his own bread, and I have not the least doubt that if I ha [MS torn out] brought up to labor that I should have been a better [MS torn out] and a more useful member of society than I am at present [MS torn out] bring up children to work in order that their constitutions may be more able to bear (the ills that flesh is heir to) a bitter life is worse than death (says Solomon. After all Wisdom is better than learning the first is a Gift from God the second is that which may acquire through ourselves and others: Even learning and Education have their ills; a boy at eighteen will learn twelve times as much in a year as one at twelve; more over recollect that all children have not the capacity to receive and education (Books are but the result of human thought, they do not make wisdom; but assist thought; the man who draws his wisdom from his own resources; the self made man is the wisest. Above all recollect that the hearts of your children must be cultivated, as well as their heads.

I suppose that you have heard of the death of Hancock Porter who shot himself with a gun

there are many rumours in circulation as to the causes of his death what was the true cause I am unable to say The people in neighbourhood are all well except Robert Glenn who lies dangerously sick

Robert Macbeth who has just returned from Louisiana lies at the point of death. Young Beaty whom he accompanied died in that country

Father is at the limestone Springs and was getting along as well as usual at the last accounts his overseer Jennings has got a pretty good crop I believe but I doubt his capacity for controlling the negroes they have been petted so much

If you know any thing about Father's intentions as what he is going to do in regard to the sale of his land and negroes do let me know so that I may make my arrangements to suit the case: Are you coming to this country to sell them next winter or not let me know

I shall take no part in election between Giles and Gist unless I am forced to do so it is possible for all men to be deceived in both friends and foes as human wisdom is very fallible

David and his family are all well he is a strong Gist man



Lockhart Shoals Union District So. Ca  
September 21st 1852

Your letter of the 21st of July has just now been put into my hand after it has layed at Union Co Ho near two months (It was directed to Union District not to Mount Tabor P. O.) owing to your letter being missdirected. I am glad to hear from you although I am a bad correspondent myself

Things are going on in the usual way in this country, we had a great deal of rain, and a very high river; during last month. Great quantities of cotton and corn have been destroyed I suppose that at least 1000 bushels of corn and some 10 or 15 bales of cotton have been destroyed on fathers plantation; and his loss is nothing when compared with that of others; bridges houses and fences have all been taken with a moving down the river: Our mill is almost the only one on the river that did not receive more or less damage fortunately for myself, I had no bottom land in cultivation—

I sorry that you think that any member of your family has taken any exceptions to any thing that you have written or may write to them if so I am sorry and know nothing about it: as I have only seen the letters that you have written to me: I am entirely ignorant as to what letter exception has been taken as I have seen very little of David or father since you left this country I have only been to Dave's house for a few hours and that only once since you left.

I was supposing that you and the balance of the family were on the most friendly terms although I cannot get along with them in peace. I suppose because that I have notions that our inheritance is and will unjustly divided The Ex Governor may deprive me of property but the right of thinking an having my own opinions I expect to retain in spite of him

The Ex Governor has been negotiating for some time about the sale of his lands and negroes with Dr Stringfellow and Richard Kennedy and I suppose latterly with James Kitchens but what they will make of it I cannot tell. I all events it seems that I am to be thrust out of house and home by some summary process in spite of a written contract. So you see that in all probability I shall have to hunt a home; and in all probability shall come to Georgia. In any event I shall expect to see you in the course of next winter If I sell all my negroes (I shall be compelled to sell some to pay my debts) I shall go to Texas next year. If I do not sell them all I shall bring the balance to Georgia and settle a small plantation in your neighbourhood I am getting hardened and dont take these things so much to heart as I did when you were in this country. I have always that is for many years past regarded you and myself as the two persons pitched upon to do all the work of the family the balance of the family were to get the profits. The very respectable Ex Governor seems to have divided his family into two castes as they do in India that is into Brahmins and Pariahs the high and the low myself any you belonging to the latter. I am glad to think of the time that I shall be ready to leave this state never to return to it only forced to do so; like yourself, I shall leave it with but few regrets. I have seen and felt enough misery during the 30 years of life that I have been in it to desire some change—



Your request that I should see and prevent any one trespassing on your land adjoining Porters and Dunns has already been complied with. Watt Wishart informs me that no trespass has been committed on it; no trees have been cut, or any damage done in any manner.

As to your other piece, of land adjoining Mrs Pag [MS torn out] Edwin Gregorry's; I can say nothing as I see no opportunity [MS torn out] your selling it. Mr Vaughn has some good corn grow [MS torn out] around the old houses My own impression is that you had better sell them both as you are losing the interest of their value every year. Your taxes have been paid I have the receipt which I will send if you desire it. If I can do anything for you in this country ask it freely; as I have always had more affection for you than any other of the family: Injustice and persecution and total want of sympathy seem to characterise the conduct of all except yourself; our family relations as you know yourself have been productive of any thing but happiness You must write to me soon as the next three months decides my destiny

Give my love to your family

P. S. Has your servant French received a letter that I wrote for his Dulcima Miss Mary Ann Johnson; if so tell him to get some one to answer it

Father is at the Springs Penelope and Wharton are coming out this fall We have had considerable anxiety to hear about you and your family Also whether you have lost your crop by the high water or not.

Glenn Springs Spartanburg July 3 1855

I have received yours of the 10th of June and I am glad to hear that your health is improving and that our crops had been so much improved by the rains I had written to you previous to the receipt of your letter; giving you such information as I could, I have nothing of importance to add to it. I have directed William to pack up the small articles belonging to you (such as glass ware and crockery) I do think that the prospect of selling our furniture for any thing like value is discouraging (unless we can sell it to the person who purchases the house) I shall endeavour to see to its safety before I leave this country.) Your negro woman Silena is hired to Dr Curtis at the rate of \$7.00 per month which in my opinion is not half enough I should advise her speedy removal from the Limestone Springs as the longer she stays in this country the more unwilling she will be to move I suppose that by the last of this month your crop will be far enough advanced for you to send a waggon for her and a part of your furniture.

The crops in this country look very promising and there has been a great deal of rain in the last five weeks the corn crops are better than I have ever seen in this country even the poorest old fields are covered with the most luxuriant crops the oat crops are splendid

Give Denis such directions as may seem conducive to my interest tell him not to neglect the gardens and to set out the Tomato and the egg plants and cabbage and as the rains have been abundant I suppose that the range is now good and that my horses can live pretty much by grazing Tell Denis to see that my saddles saddles and



bridles and saddle blankets are taken care of, have them removed into the house hav the saddles wrapped up in the blankets I suppose by this time that there is some fruit on my place if so take such as you want. Tell Denis to keep my little negroes and others from trespassing on the green peaches as I wish them taken care of.

I have had a spell of the fever since my arrival in this country but I have improved since my arrival at this place I shall probably be at home about the first of August

Davis Goudelock has promised to give me a statement in regard to the condition of our fathers estate and I will either send or bring it to you as you may desire I suppose that the estate will be settled up some time in the course of futurity

David and his family were a well a usual a short time since when I visited them he says that he will write to you all of your friends make many enquiries about you and express great interest in your welfare and happiness

direct to Union Court House as that is my head quarters

Limestone Springs Spartanburg July 29th 1855

This will inform that I am still in the land of the living I am still in this country expecting to hear from you as to what disposition you wish to be made of your furniture I have written two letters to you since the receipt of your last letter to myself I have written to you in my last as fully as I could in regard to your interest in this country but since you have not answered my last letter I suppose that it has not been received I must therefore recapitulate as far as I am able the sum and substance of the said last letter.

I have sold furniture of yours to the amount of some \$115.00 or \$120.00. I have reserved for your use such articles as you desired the furniture that has not been sold is boxed and packed and weighed and marked and directed to the care of (Sloan & Hawkins Rome Georgia in case that you should wish it forwarded by the railroad you had better advise with the above named gentlemen and give them notice in case you should direct them to be forwarded by the railway the furniture is packed in 10 boxes and weighs 1585 pounds exclusive of Silenas baggage which I suppose you wish to be forwarded with the rest the articles that gave me the most trouble, and which would be the most expensive to ship were the the large dining tables (since sold to R. Macbeth) and the leather bottomed chairs which are now packed and sewn up in coarse cotton cloth as I could not procure bagging or matting to wrap them up in; our furniture could be hauled to Georgia in two large four horse waggons: which I think will be the cheapest plan but I shall do as you may direct in regard to your furniture Mine shall go with it if it comes by the railroad. I shall have to remain in this country to see it put on the railway and take the necessary receipts: I rather think that you will find the railways and expensive mode of carrying freight (recollect the large amount the railroad charged you for the chairs sent to you by Sam Farrow of Charleston) I shall leave this place for Charleston on Tuesday next to endeavour to have the notes for which I have sold the house discounted. I shall go by the way of Yorkville were I shall make inquiries as to the method of shipping furniture on the railway and



as to the probable cost: if the furniture can be shipped, all the way through to Rome; without our paying some half dozen forwarding and comission houses I suppose that it will not cost a great deal

It is very probable that I shall purchase a carriage or travelling waggon before I return to Georgia in this case I shall be able to bring Silena with me; that is if you will give me sufficient authority to do so; Silena is not disposed to leave country without one or two sound whippings which I will give her on you saying so; with great pleasure, (as she is Irascible an Gainsaying) there has been some offers to purchase her which have rendered to some \$10 or \$15 in addition to this there will be the freight from this place to Yorkville in case you should ship by the railroad

It is impossible for you to conceive the trouble (and vexation of spirit) that I have gone through in this business Our father only lived long enough to spoil all the people at this place there is not the least accomodation in the whole party I cannot get a single thing without paying twice the value I suppose that the inhabitants of the Limestone think that it is the last chance and are disposed to make the most of it

My health is better now than it has been since my coming to this country I have had one attack of fever—but I am now entirely recovered David my negro has also been sick he is now crippled of glass cut on the arm old Buck after packing your furniture left here on yesterday for Union he seems to be in a feeble condition

The crops in this country are all very fine as to grain but in this immediate neighbourhood they are now suffering for rain

Write to me concerning the seasons in Georgia as I am anxious to hear how you are getting along You had better write to me once or twice a week as is necessary that I should hear from you very often in relation to you affairs if I can succeed in shipping your furniture and in bringing out Silena your affairs in this country will be easily conducted—

I have written to you in my last letter to see that Wesley has a good whipping for trading with white men I will be glad that you will see that it done tell Davis if he permits my negroes to trade I shall whip him when I return

give my respects to your family

P. S. be certain to direct you letters to the Limestone Springs Spartanburg District

P. S. This is the fifth or sixth letter that I have written to you since my arrival in Carolina You must answer as soon as possible as I shall in all probability remain here until I hear from you

LETTERS OF THOMAS JOHNSON (BROTHER OF GOVERNOR JOHNSON)  
TO HIS MOTHER, 1810-1812 <sup>19</sup>

Columbia, May 31st 1810

With a heart glowing with filial affection and warmed with the recollection of your parental care and tender anxiety for my welfare, I gladly imbrace this favorable opportunity of conveying you a letter.

<sup>19</sup> Most of these letters are headed "Honoured Mother" and signed "Your dutiful Son".



I arrived here in company with Doctr. Davis and family on the Thursday after I left you at Union; took my boarding at Wm. Fraisiere's a gentleman who keeps public entertainment; tomorrow I shall move to the Revd. Mr. Johnson's; a situation more favorable to my persuit and agreeable to my disposition; and I anticipate the hapiness in becoming acquainted with so respectable and worthy a character; whose exampleary conduct will be a stimilus to virtue and whose conversations will be instructive and pleaseing,—his lady, Mrs. Johnson possesses a softness and urbanity of manners without that austerity which is the characteristick of the inhabitants of this place. I have made no intimate acquaintances as yet, nor shall I with any but those whom I shall find possessing principles and sentiments congenial with my own. On my first arrival here for 3 or 4 days I was considerably indisposed—, but am now quite well,—If I should see any danger resulting from my staying here this summer; I shall immediately remove up the country.—At this time I can give you no information respecting my liking or disliking Columbia; leaving that subject for future observations.—Doctr. Davis' and family are well; he will succeed very well in his design in coming to this place.

I am your dutiful and obedient son—

P. S. Present my compliments to our friend Squire Lancaster and family; also make the same acceptable to Mjr. Smith and family—I wish to hear from you as often as convenient.

Columbia July 20th 1810

I have just time to drop you a line in acknowledgement of your favour which came safe to hand last Sunday evening; an obligation of gratitude involving upon a child for the tender regard of an affectionate parent can better be conceived than expressed.—I am happy and much gratified in hearing of your agreeable situation of mind; I am certain nothing can ad so much to my felicity as to hear of the contentment of an only parent; and nothing could render me more unhappy as the thought that you were so.—I am blessed with good health, but am very lean having lost in my weight twenty-four pounds since I came to Columbia—people here say it is hard study—Give my compliments to your friends & Jackey and Bettey (tell Bob I shall want a heap of corn to fatten upon when I come up—) I am your affectionate Son

Columbia Sept. 2nd 1810.

Having some hopes of being enabled to go to Philadelphia this fall I feel it incumbent upon me as a duty to inform you of my design to go by water from Charleston; and as the time is near approaching that the Lectures will commence, it will be the means of loosing much time for me to take personal leave of my friends in Spartanburg therefore you will be pleased to take the will for the deed and do not entertain any other idea than it would have afforded me such pleasure to have paid you a visit before I start;—I am not yet certain that I shall be so fortunate as to succeed in my design in going—hower I calculate upon doing so, and you will recollect you promised me a winter suit if you can have it ready by the last of the month I will



thank you to send it down by Mr Golightly who will do me that favour I make no doubt

My Love to my Friends and I am Dear Mother

Columbia—Sunday morning Sept. 30th 1810

I again have the pleasure of informing you that I am well, and hope I shall hear today that you are partaken of the like blessing.—You mentioned in your last letter to me that you had wrote seven times and had sent two pair of stockings,—in all I have received four letters, and being in expectation of receiving the stocking, had inquired frequently of the post rider if he had brought them, but never have received or heard anything of them.—some hints in your letter fill my mind with jealousies and suspisions of my best friends; but as you observe I find it hard to know one's friends from their enemies for both are apt to put on an insidious when I meet them, be so good as to write me in your next more particular with regard to the circumstances of the stockings as there is something in it strange and for which I cannot account,—I need much pardon for not answering you with regard to the price of flower here, and can only render you an excuse, that at the time you wrote it was very fluctuating—good flower is now selling for seven dollars per Barrel cash whether it will continue at that I cannot say; it has sold sometime past for 5 dollars—I am Dear Mother your dutiful son—

P. S. Sunday evening—I just recd your letter and all you sent by Mr Culbertson—Accept my thanks—I shall be at the association & will write by my Brethern

Columbia October 1810

In respect of my going to Philadelphia it is yet with much doubt—Bro David has not sent me the means nor do I know for certain whether he will do so—as soon however as I shall have recd the means of going—I shall set out for Charleston; . . .

Columbia July 30th 1811—

. . . I am well, and have enjoyed better health this winter than last—the inhabitants here are however rather disposed to be more sickley.

I have Sent you a pattern for my coat the small cloaths and waist-coat—I presume you can have done without a pattern—the latter of which I want made double breasted—with a deep collar—send them down when convenient to you—

Inform my Brother that I have not yet had the good fortune to obtain any Powder of the description he wanted—I have not had a word from him since I left his house—take good care of my coat—have her Large, fat and well broke by exerciz— . . .

My love to Sister and friends—in haste—



Chester District Sept. 18th 1812

. . . my business—although not very extensive, has been such as not to permit my absence;—for several weeks past my practice has increased so much as to allow me little time to attend to any thing else and I have take further pleasure to inform you that I have been thus far successful, having lost not a single patient—but how long I shall be able to tell this good knews God only knows and time only can reveal—I heard from my mother at Union on Monday last where I should have seen her, but having a female patient at that time extremely ill prevented me—In fact this is the season of my harvest and demands my utmost attention to reap what I can and establish my reputation as a Physician, of the two the latter object is most desirable with me at this time—I have no further information to communicate but what is common—It appears we are involved as a nation into difficulties from which we can be extricated by blood alone—may the Lord God deliver us— . . .

LETTERS OF B. H. AND CHRISTOPHER C. JOHNSON TO THEIR BROTHER EDWARD C. JOHNSON, 1828, 1834

Columbia Dec 20, 1828

I am bound by those brotherly ties of affection to make an apology for not having performed the duties which I have so shamefully neglected but for the future I will endeavor to fulfill all requests and promises—I red your letter of the 6th which I found very interesting and was very highly delighted to hear that you were pleased with your occupation and also with Mr. Boyce & Henry and that the gaiety of the Town afforded you much pleasure. I received your last letter on yestardy and you stated that you stand in need of some cloths and Father says that he wrote to you to purchase a suit and if you have not done so it is your own fault Father will be down about the last of January. If I was placed in your situation I should not wat for any thing I would purchase by hole sail.

Columbia has been very gay for two weeks a great number of young ladies from the country spent the Session at this place and several of our relations has been staying with us. Mother gave a party on yestady and we had all the bells of Columbia, and also a great may private parties was given to the new married people Mr. Taylor and Miss Wallace. I suppose you herd that Woodward & Cousin Julia Rice was married.

I wish to give you a piece of admonition concerning your situation. We never will prosper as long as we are dependant on other people and there is nothing like an efort and if we fail it is not our falt and stick to your occupation. I expect to apply for College on the first of January next. . . .

B. H. JOHNSON



Virginia Univ'y Oct 26, 1834

We arrived here on Monday night safe and sound after a journey of four days and a half. No accidents of any consequence happened to us only at Linchburgh. Eating rather too fast a piece of bread liked to have gone the wrong way and choked me a little. We remained at the Wards tavern until yesterday on account of not being able to get a room but we have now got a very comfortable room on the Western range in Mr. Conways district the district in which brother Ben boarded. Our money did not go quite far enough We just had enough to matriculate and buy each one suit. We have not paid our tavern bill or our tailors. The people seem very willing to credit us are very well satisfied with the answer Pa sent them concerning brother Bens debts.

There are not more than one hundred and eighty students in the University a great deal less than I expected among whom we have a few acquaintances from So. Carolina. . . .

CHRISTOPHER C. JOHNSON





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